

Midwest Folklore

SPRING, 1957

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Midwest Folkllore

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HOW INDIAN IS HIAWATHA?

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Scholarly investigators of *Hiawatha* note the veracity of external details and agree in praising it as a minor work of art.¹ One of these critics seems to commend the poem for falsifying the spirit of Indian life in the interest of art,² but others, while appreciating the artistry, admit the falsification to be a defect.³

In an article in PMLA in 1922 Professor Stith Thompson, examining Longfellow's Indian idyl in the light of "sixty years of work by ethnologists and anthropologists," demonstrated that it has "done violence both to the original myth and to the spirit of the life which it depicts" (pp. 128, 139-140). This is not surprising since Longfellow did not have the benefit of what is by now a century of work. But it is of interest to examine in some detail both the truth and the falsity of *Hiawatha*.

Letters exchanged by Longfellow and some of his correspondents before and after the publication of *Hiawatha* reveal how far from his aim it was to convey any real understanding of the Indian.⁴ The poem was for the pleasure of White readers, and if the genuine materials were not adaptable to the ways of thinking and the taste of the White man, no good purpose could be served by a frank portrayal. Longfellow himself at one point during the writing of the poem expressed his doubts about going on with it; a little earlier he had recorded in his diary that it was "purely in the realm of fancy." This may be a half-conscious recognition that he is falsifying his material more than is justifiable. He and Mrs. Longfellow shared the misgivings of a friend to whom he read part of the unpublished poem, namely, that it would want "human interest," probably meaning that it would fail to express the White man's conventional sentiments.

To Hawthorne also it seemed to be "purely in the realm of fancy," as he expresses pleasure at finding himself "in a new dream-land." Bayard Taylor, finding the poem satisfactory where he had feared a failure, adds complacently: "I know how impracticable are the most of those barbaric myths for the purposes of poetry; how much that is grotesque and absurd is mingled with what is simple and characteristic; above all, how little the legends, curious as they are, appeal to the sympathies of our race and the taste of our

times."Continuing, he congratulates Longfellow upon his successful falsification, the "skill you have shown in representing the purely poetical aspects of Indian life and tradition, concealing whatever is gross and repulsive, yet without destroying the fidelity of the picture."

To Emerson the poem is "sweet and wholesome as maize; very proper and pertinent for us to read, and showing a kind of manly sense of duty in the poet to write," but he finds the Indians "really savage, have poor, small, sterile heads,—no thoughts; and you must deal very roundly with them, and find them in brains." He blames Longfellow's tenderness "in accepting a legend or a song, when they had so little to give. I should hold you to your creative function on such occasions." It is not quite clear here whether Emerson is urging that Longfellow should further falsify his material or that he should devote himself to more suitable subjects. At any rate, he seems to be asking that the poet substitute the creations of his own imagination for the genuine Indian material.

Lack of understanding or even of the desire to understand is not incompatible with sympathy. Like Cooper, Longfellow early became familiar with the work of the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder.⁵ Though without any pretensions to historical or scientific learning, Heckewelder did know the Delaware Indians at first hand. He had lived among them and conversed with them in their own language.⁶ His purpose was quite frankly that of making propaganda (long before the word was used in this sense) in their defense by portraying them as they were before their corruption by White civilization.⁷ Although his work was not the chief, nor even a major source of *Hiawatha*, it was one of the earliest influences on Longfellow's championship of the red man. While he was a student at Bowdoin, he wrote to his mother that he had been reading Heckewelder's work and had discovered that the Indians were a race possessing the white man's ideal virtues, "magnanimity, generosity, benevolence, and pure religion without hypocrisy."⁸

When, however, he came to write the poem thirty years later, it was necessary to resolve the conflict between this image of the "noble savage" and known facts of Indian behavior. Longfellow avoids comparison of the savage and the civilized ways of life by placing *Hiawatha* in the past as a prehistoric culture hero, who welcomed the first white men and then departs for another world.⁹

It is well known that the chief source of the tales adapted by Longfellow was the work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, especially his *Algic Researches*.¹⁰ Schoolcraft himself had expressed concern that

the literary portrayal of the Indian should be authentic. In a letter to Longfellow written after the appearance of the poem, he stated his opinion that if ever the Indian was to be the material of popular poetry, "it must be the full, free, wild Indian,—the independent rover of the forests and prairies, who loves the chase, loves liberty, and hates labor and the white man, under the impression that the latter symbolizes the advent of his curse and downfall."¹¹

In spite of this protestation a comparison of his works with the untreated raw material found in Thompson's *Tales of the North American Indians*¹² reveals that Schoolcraft himself had done a good deal of adapting or had been misled by wishful thinking. Such authorities as Boas¹³ and Thompson¹⁴ criticize him for his literary adaptations of these stories. Longfellow, besides appropriating some of the most misleading details from Schoolcraft, made further selection, change, and rearrangement to suit his own purpose.¹⁵

Longfellow's hero is really a composite of three mythological characters. From Schoolcraft he had received the erroneous information that a trickster deity of the Ojibways, by name Manabozho,¹⁶ often represented as a great white rabbit or hare, was identical with the Mohawk statesman, Hiawatha, who legend says founded the Iroquois League before 1600. Further confusion resulted from an identification, either by the Iroquois themselves or by White investigators, of Hiawatha with one of their demigods, Taronhiawagon¹⁷ or Ta-oun-ya-wa-tha, Holder of the Heavens. According to some versions of the legend this divinity became a man and savior of his people under the name of Hiawatha.¹⁸ It is true that there is nothing in common between the Algonquin demigod, Manabozho, and the legendary Hiawatha,¹⁹ but Schoolcraft's Hiawatha legend does combine exploits of Manabozho (that peculiar combination of trickster, dupe, and culture hero or creator not regarded by the Indians as incongruous)²⁰ with those of Taronhiawagon.²¹

Except for his warning near the end of the poem that the Indian nations will be scattered and swept westward because of their internal strife, Longfellow's Hiawatha has no resemblance to the Mohawk lawgiver and organizer. His exploits are drawn from those of the other two mythical heroes, including some which they had in common, such as teaching the use of plants for food and destroying the monsters or evil manitos who were the enemies of mankind.

Schoolcraft seems to have vacillated in his concept of the character of Manabozho. A comparison of passages appearing before and after the publication of Hiawatha suggests that he may have actually revised his interpretation to agree with that of Longfellow. From

the *Algic Researches* (1839) we learn that in Manabozho the Indians have "rather exhibited an incarnation of the power of Evil than of the genius of Benevolence," and in the same work that he was "of a wicked and revengeful disposition" and was "actuated by the malignity of a devil." Further on it is stated that there is no ground for the opinion that he "partakes of any of the characters [*sic*] of a Saviour."²² But in Part VI of his *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States: their Present Conditions and Prospect*, which appeared in 1857, two years after Longfellow's poem, we find the statement that the demigods Manabo [*sic*] and Hiawatha were "impersonations of kindness and benevolence."²³

The Indian idea of "Manito" was involved in that of a "culture hero," such as Manabozho. This idea had to do with a magic property which might be found everywhere in Nature, often in animals. The animal containing this property would become identified with it and would be thought of sometimes in human, sometimes in animal, form.²⁴ Thus a culture hero, appearing in both forms, might be identified as a manito, the three concepts running into one another. It is doubtful if Longfellow at all grasped this idea. If he did, he carefully expurgated it, always identifying "Gitche manito the Mighty" with the "Master of Life," a concept easily equated by the white readers with that of God.

The chief Manito or God of the Algonquins, more or less identified with Manabozho, created the world, the animals, and mankind by magic powers, conferred numerous benefits upon mankind, such as teaching them how to procure food and destroying monsters who were their enemies.²⁵

Manabozho as a trickster deity plays a double role of benefactor of mankind and the "vain, tricky, now stupid, now clever hero of animal tales."²⁶ He is often referred to as "the Liar," "the Cheat," "the Deceiver." His qualities of deceit are admired as a victory of wit or cunning over brute strength as in the case of "the wily Ulysses" of old world folklore. In none of these tales is there "much nicety about the means used to accomplish the ends." His deceit is justified since the enemies on whom he practices it are also enemies of the human race.²⁷

Longfellow's Hiawatha is a culture hero but distinctly human, neither an animal nor a manito (the two were often identical in Indian mythology). Such magic powers as he has are in his belongings, his mittens and his moccasins, not in himself. All episodes in which his original appears either as deceiver or dupe are omitted, the crude practical jokes are transferred to other characters like

Pau-Puk-Keewiss, and of the grotesque elements characteristic of Indian tales only a few "tall tales" or feats of strength, such as increase the prestige of the hero and his friends, are included.

An obvious source for Longfellow's conception of Hiawatha as culture hero is Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois* (1847).²⁸ Here as Tarenyawagon [*sic*] he is credited with teaching his people hunting, gardening, especially the cultivation of corn and beans, the practice of medicine, the art of war, and the nature of their obligations to the Great Spirit. Details especially utilized by Longfellow were the clearing of the streams of obstructions and the magic white canoe in which the hero finally departed.²⁹ This version of the mythical hero would justify Longfellow's account of one who

lived and toiled and suffered
That the tribes of men might prosper,
That he might advance his people!³⁰

Actually Longfellow's Hiawatha is an Ojibway culture hero with an Iroquois name, who speaks a composite Algonquian tongue and marries a girl of the Dacotahs. All the Indian names and words in the poem are of Algonquian origin, chiefly derived from Schoolcraft, with the exception of the name of the hero and four terms taken from the dialect of the Dacotahs. These last include the names of his mother, Wenonah, and of his wife, Minnehaha, both derived from Mrs. Mary Eastman's *Dahcotah, or Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling* (pp. 55, 165, Int. II); and two others, Unktahe, the god of the Dacotahs (XV, p. 217), and Kuntasoo, the plum-stone game (XI, p. 188), both from Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes* (III, 485; II, 71-72). The names of plants and animals were taken from John Tanner's *Narrative of his Captivity among the Ottawa and Ojibwa Indians*.³¹

Longfellow's truthfulness to the external details of Indian life has already been remarked.³² This may be noted in such matters as occupations, food, household equipment, such customs as the telling of tales,³³ gambling,³⁴ puberty fasting, the seeking of visions, the practices associated with the planting and harvesting of corn,³⁵ and those connected with the burial of the dead.³⁶ The custom of sharing necessities or surplus wealth with neighbors and visitors Longfellow rather underemphasized, although he gives his hero some altruistic motives that were not characteristically Indian.

We have noted that by placing his hero in the prehistoric era, Longfellow avoids any mention of the bloody conflicts between Indians and Whites. Furthermore he omits all accounts of battles between

tribes and of such customs as scalping. Curiously enough these omissions have been praised by one critic as one of the "improvements on the traditional plot structure" of previous Indian romances.³⁷

At this point a comparison with Cooper's treatment of the same subject is illuminating. From General Lewis Cass to Professor Burges Johnson³⁸ Cooper has been accused of falsifying the Indian to the point where he is unrecognizable, but Cooper does acknowledge the existence of different culture traits, for instance, when Leatherstocking condones the taking of scalps by his Indian friend as one of their "gifts," a privilege which is not among the "gifts" of the White man.³⁹ The novelist, unlike the poet, had the problem of portraying the Indian as he had appeared in history.⁴⁰

All references in Longfellow's poem to inter-tribal war place it outside the framework of Hiawatha's life story. In the opening episode of the peace pipe the Great Spirit expresses his weariness with the quarrels and bloodshed:

All your danger is in discord;
Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together.

He promises to send them a prophet to guide and teach them:

If you listen to his counsels,
You will multiply and prosper;
If his warnings pass unheeded,
You will fade away and perish (I, p. 124)!

At his command the warriors wash away their war-paint and bury their weapons of war. If we were dealing with the Iroquois tribes alone, the prophecy might be considered as fulfilled in the coming of Hiawatha, the founding of the Iroquois League, and the survival of those tribes to the present day. But the idyllic conclusion of the episode completely sidesteps the tragic fate of the other Eastern tribes.

Hiawatha's father-in-law, the ancient Arrow-maker of the Dacotahs, is even allowed, while meditating on the past, to regret

the great war-parties,
How they came to buy his arrows,
Could not fight without his arrows.
Ah, no more such noble warriors
Could be found on earth as they were!
Now the men were all like women,
Only used their tongues for weapons (X, p. 181)!

In Hiawatha's vision of the future at the end of the poem, he foresees the Indian nations warring with each other after his departure and thus to blame for their own dispersion (XXI, pp. 259-60).

But all this is mere evasion of facts. It is in the psychological realm that Longfellow departs most widely from the truth, making little or no attempt to portray even as much as was available to him of certain beliefs and mental traits that distinguish the primitive way of thinking from our own.

His adaptation of Schoolcraft's account of his hero's miraculous birth is characteristic, and a comparison of Schoolcraft with the untreated version in Thompson reveals that Schoolcraft himself had introduced a personal and moral element not in the original. He refers to the West Wind's "Tarquinic purpose," Nokomis relates that Manabozho's mother was "taken without the consent of her parents" and that she died "owing to the ill treatment of your father," and the father, Mudjekeewis, admitted his guilt. In both Thompson and Schoolcraft, the daughter of Nokomis, as a result of having forgotten instructions of her mother as to the position she should take while digging potatoes, is overpowered by the wind. In Schoolcraft she is immediately annihilated, leaving a foetus which Nokomis cares for until it assumes the appearance of the infant Manabozho.⁴¹

In Longfellow the wind is personalized as a lover, who comes "walking lightly" and "whispering" to the beautiful Wenonah, lying among the lilies, when he

Woody her with his words of sweetness,
Woody her with his soft caresses,
Till she bore a son in sorrow,

and taking the matter in a very personal way,

In her anguish died deserted (III, p. 135).

In the son's later vengeful pursuit of his father and the latter's remorse, Longfellow seems to be imposing a village seduction story upon one of those myths of supernatural paternity which are so widespread in primitive folklore.⁴² Longfellow condones Hiawatha's deceit in his encounter with Mudjekeewis by describing him as "wary." When the combat ends in a draw, the West Wind charges his son with the tasks of clearing earth and waters of all that is injurious to the people, and the youth returns homeward purged of his anger and desire for vengeance.⁴³ Thus characteristically does Longfellow resolve potentially tragic situations.

Some of the customs revealed in the poem are better understood if we accept Ruth Benedict's account of the essentially "Dio-

nysian" nature of most of the American tribes, including those of the Northeast and Central Woodlands, the groups with which we are concerned in this study. According to Dr. Benedict, they "valued all violent experience, all means by which human beings may break through the usual sensory routine, . . ." The visions which determined the way of life of the individual and his success were sought by such means as fasting and self-laceration. In some cases drugs and intoxicating liquors were also means of achieving this supposed "mingling of clouded vision and insight."⁴⁴ This vision-seeking is "the unifying religious fact" among the North American Indians⁴⁵ and is widely associated with the young man's puberty ordeal.⁴⁶

Among the means by which these visions were sought, that of fasting is the one especially emphasized by Schoolcraft.⁴⁷ Authorities are agreed that for the most part these visions are sought for the purpose of acquiring from supernatural sources power which may be used for personal success and social recognition. One particularly gratifying form of achievement was success in killing enemies.⁴⁸

Professor Boas has called attention to the non-altruistic motives of the culture hero. His benefits to the people are frequently a by-product of some self-seeking activity.⁴⁹ Although motives of personal success predominated in the seeking of visions, there is some evidence of a gradual evolution towards altruism and the service of their fellow men, or at least their fellow tribesmen, on the part of these trickster-culture heroes.⁵⁰

In Schoolcraft's account of Manabozho the only result of the hero's fasting is that he discovers his grandmother having an affair with a bear paramour.⁵¹ Longfellow, however, had a source for the purposeful and altruistic vision-seeking of Hiawatha in Schoolcraft's story of the origin of Indian corn, which is associated, not with Manabozho, but with an otherwise obscure hero named Wunzh.⁵² Wandering about the woods in preparation for his vision, Wunzh was animated by a scientific curiosity that is probably not very authentic. He felt "a strong desire to know how the plants, herbs, and berries grew, and why it was that some species were good to eat, and others possessed medicinal or poisonous juices." His altruism too, if authentic, is exceptional rather than characteristic. He desired a vision that would prove beneficial to his family and to all others. His question as to whether the Great Spirit could not "make it easier for us to get our food, than by hunting animals and taking fish" is echoed in Hiawatha's appeal to the Master of Life, "Must our lives depend on these things?"

Longfellow understood the self-seeking nature of the vision quest, but he specifically exempted Hiawatha from the usual motives when he

prayed and fasted in the forest,
Not for greater skill in hunting,
Not for greater craft in fishing,
Not for triumphs in the battle,
And renown among the warriors,
But for profit of the people,
For advantage of the nations (V, p. 148).

Hiawatha seeks assurance of success not so much by supernatural aid as by his own enterprise. His vision is to be in the form of a constructive idea.

Into this purposive and rational mood, Longfellow injects something of the "Dionysian" experience to be recognized by later investigators:

On the fourth day⁵³ of his fasting
In his lodge he lay exhausted:
From his couch of leaves and branches
Gazing with half-open eyelids,
Full of shadowy dreams and visions,
On the dizzy, swimming landscape,
On the gleaming of the water,
On the splendor of the sunset (V, pp. 149-150).

Unconsciously Longfellow is anticipating Dr. Benedict's "mingling of clouded vision and of insight," rather than portraying the mood of a purposive scientific investigator.

The most genuinely "Dionysian" episode of the poem is found, not in Hiawatha's fasting and dream experience, but in the dancing at Hiawatha's wedding feast of Pau-Puk-Keewiss, the anti-social being whom Hiawatha later finds it necessary to exterminate. Beginning with a slow and solemn measure Pau-Puk-Keewiss increases his pace,

Whirling, spinning round in circles,
Leaping o'er the guests assembled,
Eddying round and round the wigwam,

raising leaves and dust until along the shore of the Big-Sea-Water,

On he sped with frenzied gestures,
Stamped upon the sand, and tossed it
Wildly in the air around him;
Till the wind became a whirlwind,
Till the sand was blown and sifted (XI, p. 189),

finally creating the great sand dunes of Lake Superior. Here we have combined a characteristically Indian mood with a characteristic origin myth. It may be added that the actions of Pau-Puk-Keewiss which provoke Hiawatha's pursuit could be described as "Dionysian" behavior: the killing of the raven—

By the neck he seized the raven,
Whirled it round him like a rattle,
Like a medicine-pouch he shook it,
Strangled Kahgahgee, the raven,

and the disordering of the lodge—

Threw the household things about him,
Piled together in confusion
Bowls of wood and earthen kettles,
Robes of buffalo and beaver,
Skins of otter, lynx, and ermine, . . . (XVI, p. 228)⁵⁴

To Pau-Puk-Keewiss, sometimes referred to as "the storm-sprite,"⁵⁵ Longfellow had transferred some of the rowdyish traits found in culture heroes, including Manabozho. It has been noted that the adventures of Pau-Puk-Keewiss were "ordinarily told of Manabozho himself."⁵⁶

The appearance to Hiawatha of Mondamin, the corn spirit, also follows Schoolcraft's tale of Wunzh, but here again we have an incongruous mixture of the supernatural or miraculous with the purposive and rational seeking characteristic of the scientists and inventors of Longfellow's time or our own. While this purposive scientific approach is suggested by Schoolcraft, it is strengthened by Longfellow.

The story of the corn-spirit, who has to be killed and buried in order that maize may spring from his grave, is of course the widespread legend of the slain harvest god. In Indian lore this spirit is usually represented as female; Mondamin as a young man is an exception.⁵⁷ It is probable that neither Schoolcraft nor Longfellow in the pre-Frazerian age recognized any analogy between the Mondamin legend of the young man who had to be slain in a final wrestling contest with the hero and the gruesome killing of a Sioux girl by the Pawnees, described by Schoolcraft and others and recorded by Frazer.⁵⁸

Besides the discovery of corn, Hiawatha's services to his people included the clearing of the river of sunken logs and sandbars with the help of the strong man, Kwasind; the killing of the great sturgeon after a Jonah-like adventure; the destruction of the great Pearl-Feather, the magician who afflicts the tribes of men with pestilential

fever, probably malaria; the invention of picture writing;⁵⁹ and the teaching of the uses of medicinal herbs.⁶⁰

The great fish furnished old Nokomis a supply of oil, but we are not told whether this oil was shared. Longfellow adds a touch not in Schoolcraft's original account when Hiawatha tells Nokomis to allow the sea-gulls, who have freed him from the great fish, to finish their meal. This victory seems to have been obtained easily in spite of the precarious position in which the hero for a time finds himself. More difficult is the conquest of the great Pearl-Feather. Longfellow omits the deception of the guardian serpents found in Schoolcraft and allows Hiawatha to destroy them by simple prowess with his bow; he also omits the deception by which Hiawatha makes the Pearl-Feather think he is not alone. The hero achieves his victory in the end not by superior prowess but by aiming at his opponent's vulnerable point, according to information received from the woodpecker. In Schoolcraft's account Monabozho takes the scalp of the vanquished Pearl-Feather.⁶¹ This privilege Longfellow, unlike Leatherstocking, will not permit but attempts to compensate by allowing Hiawatha to carry away a quantity of wealth in skins and wampum.

Professor Thompson has remarked that the love story is the episode of the whole poem which most people remember, but the one which is least characteristically Indian.⁶² It would take a separate study to discover why at this period romantic Whites had such an urge to depict lovesick Indians and to dot the country with "Lovers' Leaps." Though the phenomenon is older than *Hiawatha*,⁶³ the poem may have influenced its continuation. We know a good deal about the external facts of Indian courtship and marriage, but of what love meant to the Indians as an experience we have no dependable records nor even, as in the case of our own race, established conventions for expressing this experience.⁶⁴ Undoubtedly the Indian had his standards of beauty, and although parental approval was required, young people had considerable freedom of choice. Whether the Indian women performed more than their share of the labor may be debatable,⁶⁵ but there is evidence that the Indian seeking a wife noted the girl's usefulness as a worker. Heckewelder tells of a conversation with an aged Indian, who described to him the Indian method of courtship. The Indian makes advances leading to marriage when he sees "industrious Squaw, which he like."⁶⁶ Longfellow transfers this cautiousness to old Nokomis:

Bring not here an idle maiden,
Bring not here a useless woman;

Bring a wife with nimble fingers,
Heart and hand that run together,
Feet that run on willing errands (X, pp. 179-180).

The method of courtship by a present of game, killed by the suitor, is in Heckewelder performed by his mother,⁶⁷ but in Longfellow is transferred to the lover himself, who appears at the lodge of the arrow maker with a deer upon his shoulders. It might be added that Minnehaha is the very model of a Victorian bride, "neither willing nor reluctant."

The most genuinely tragic episode that Longfellow admits, the death of Minnehaha from famine and fever during the severe winter, is all too true to the circumstances of Indian life, but Longfellow included this episode probably not from a stern purpose of giving the full impact of the more tragic aspects of Indian life but in keeping with Edgar Allan Poe's view of what constitutes the most poetical of all topics, the death of a beautiful woman. Longfellow may have known "The Philosophy of Composition," but it was not necessary that he should, since Poe was merely reflecting with exaggerated emphasis an unconscious assumption or aesthetic instinct of the Victorians, which might have seemed as strange to the Indian as, say, the identification of men and animals or the combining of the roles of trickster and culture hero seems to the White man.

Scientific students of Indian lore have noted this identification of men and animals and the quick transformation from one to another.⁶⁸ The Indians attributed souls and reasoning powers to animals as well as to men.⁶⁹ The regard for the totems sprang from the widespread belief that the various tribes were descended from different animals. Some tribes participating in this belief had a taboo on killing the ancestral animal and sometimes took measures to apologize to or propitiate the animals they killed.⁷⁰

Longfellow, trying to make a hero perfectly comprehensible and acceptable to his White readers with just enough Indian coloring for picturesqueness, picked his way carefully among these unfamiliar ideas. He portrays men and animals conversing and gives brief recognition to the belief in totems or animal ancestors, but he omits, as Professor Thompson has pointed out,⁷¹ all incidents in which his hero appears as a great white rabbit or hare or in any other animal form. In the original Indian myth, Manabozho's was one of a double or triple birth. The sweet singer, Chibiabos, entirely human in Longfellow, takes his name and fate, when he is dragged through the broken ice by the evil spirits and drowned, from Manabozho's twin brother, often portrayed as a wolf.⁷² Episodes like Manabozho's

detection of his grandmother with her bear paramour, noted above,⁷³ Longfellow would charitably attribute to the Indian's lack of advantages and dismiss as not really significant, unlike the scientific anthropologist, who would study such stories with keen interest.

The killing of animals Longfellow permits with no indication of their interchangeable human character. The only human or approximately human beings that Hiawatha is permitted to kill are the magician or Pearl Feather, Megissowon; and Mondamin, the corn spirit. Both of these are supernatural beings, and both killings are socially useful. The Pearl Feather was represented as the spirit who caused malaria; and Mondamin was killed by his own command. Pau-Puk-Keewis, although angrily pursued by Hiawatha, is actually killed by the thunder and lightning.⁷⁴ He is the only human being to whom Longfellow allows the rapid transformation into various animals characteristic of many genuine myths. In his portrayal of other characters who in the original myths partake of the nature of animals and men Longfellow chooses one or the other and sticks to it; for instance, Ojeeg, the Summer-Maker, is given only his animal character as the Fisher Weasel.⁷⁵ There is a brief glance at the attributing of human traits to animals in the episode from Heckewelder of the crying bear reproached by the hunter for his lack of fortitude.⁷⁶ All allusions to propitiation of or reverence for animals Longfellow avoids.

Another omission is the resuscitation of the dead, characteristic of so many Indian myths; when this happens in Longfellow's poem, as in the case of Chibiabos, the resuscitated individual is hustled off promptly to another world.

Longfellow has used many of the characteristic themes or motifs of Indian tales. Already discussed are the theme of the culture hero, who has a grandmother, who teaches arts and crafts to his people, and who pursues and slays monsters. Numerous explanatory or origin myths besides that of the origin of corn appear in the poem, including that of the two companion stars, the marks on the moon, the rainbow, the giant bulrushes and black rock in the kingdom of the West Wind, the huge rock hurled by Kwasind into the river, the red head of the woodpecker, the sand dunes of Lake Superior, the yielding of winter to spring. Other myths to be noted are the transformation for purposes of escape or of killing enemies; the transformation flight of the intended victim; the killing of a monster from within; animals who assist the hero;⁷⁷ the younger brother dragged to the underworld by monsters;⁷⁸ the "unique deadly weapon," which alone can kill a certain person; the soul external

to the body; the ascent to the sky; resuscitation by music; the "loathly bridegroom" (in "The Son of the Evening Star"); the hero's departure for the west; and his intended return.⁷⁹ Here, accidentally or otherwise, Longfellow has chosen a representative cross section of Indian myths. In his telling of these stories the poet has succeeded in catching some of primitive man's childlike wonder at the world in which he finds himself, but his mingling of the purposive and the rational with this childlike wonder is quite incongruous. Of course, it must always be remembered that Longfellow's aim was not to interpret Indian mythology but to give an idealized portrayal of actual Indian life variegated by some miraculous events, or in his own words, "to weave together their beautiful traditions into a whole."⁸⁰

Schoolcraft maintains that the Indian tales have morals, upholding such virtues as "Respect for parents and for age, fraternal affection, hospitality, bravery, self-denial, endurance under fatigue or suffering, and disinterestedness," and exhibiting the punishment of such vices as cruelty, murder, sorcery, and domestic infidelity.⁸¹ Examination of the tales in their original forms, however, bears out the comment of Professor Boas that the moralizing point so often found at the end of Old World fables, those of Africa, Asia, and Europe, is not characteristic of the American Indian tale.⁸² Apparently Schoolcraft read into these stories interpretations congenial to his own way of thinking and that of his contemporary, Longfellow.

In the story of the ghosts Longfellow points the moral in terms of the rewarding of the virtuous rather than, as in Schoolcraft, the discomfiture of the ignoble. In the latter's version the anger of the wife at the greed of the ghosts causes the failure of the test;⁸³ Longfellow allows Hiawatha and Minnehaha to pass the test triumphantly. As usual Longfellow was averse to facing unpleasant or non-pleasant facts about human nature, and a more realistic treatment would have been out of keeping with the idealized character of Minnehaha. In the admonition of the departing ghosts that the living should cease lamentation for the dead and should no more lay on them such burdens to carry with them to the land of the departed, Longfellow gives the story a further moralizing twist.

It is worth noting, however, that Longfellow is not always seeking to impose a conventional moral on these pagan myths. At first glance it might seem that the story of the Son of the Evening Star was chosen for its moral, but when Iagoo, the teller of the tale, applies the point to those who make a jest of great men, because they fail to appreciate them, Longfellow turns the laugh on the pointer of

the moral.⁸⁴ In the story of the death of Kwasind, the strong man, Longfellow omits the moral found in Schoolcraft that Kwasind met his fate because he had aroused the jealousy of the Little People by his boasting.⁸⁵ Bayard Taylor in a letter written to Longfellow soon after the appearance of the poem complains that the moral significance of the struggle in the Mondamin legend is not "so thoroughly expressed as in the original legend."⁸⁶

Actually the authentic Indian myths with all their crudeness show a deeper sense of the tragic element in life, its uncertainties, its frustrations, and its unexplained mysteries than Longfellow's pretty story does. These myths, reflecting as they do, some of the difficulties of maintaining life on a primitive level, make understandable the trickster elements, the deceit, and unscrupulousness. While the ease with which Longfellow's hero wins many of his victories, the submissiveness of Nature to his demands, may be accounted for by the primitive belief in magic, the Indian tales show more realism about natural disasters.

By placing his story before the dawn of history, Longfellow is able almost completely to evade the tragedy of the Indian. His desire is to give not only one happy ending, but a series of happy endings from beginning to end, with a few pathetic incidents interspersed. The poem begins with a promise of peace between the tribes, by means of which an untoward fate will be avoided. And in the end there are two contradictory implications, that the coming of the White man is a good omen for the Indian—the most flagrant falsification of all—and that the eventual disintegration of the tribes is the fault of the Indians themselves.

It has been pointed out⁸⁷ that the original of Hiawatha's vision of the future in section XXI of the poem, "The White Man's Foot," is adapted from a passage in George Catlin's *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*.⁸⁸ Actually Longfellow has put into the mouth of Hiawatha a modification of Catlin's own vision of the westward march of civilization, inevitable but tragic: "I have viewed man in the artless and innocent simplicity of nature, in the full enjoyment of the luxuries which God had bestowed upon him . . . I have seen him shrinking from civilized approach, which came with all its vices, like the dead of night, upon him: . . . I have seen him ('tis the only thing that will bring them) with tears of grief sliding over his cheeks, clap his hand in silence over his mouth, and take the last look over his fair hunting grounds, and turn his face in sadness to the setting sun." Longfellow uses the details which follow of the White man's advance, the

ringing axes, the smoking towns, and the steamboats, and in conclusion Hiawatha beholds

our nations scattered,
All forgetful of my counsels,
Weakened, warring with each other;
Saw the remnants of our people
Sweeping westward, wild and woful,
Like the cloud-rack of a tempest,
Like the withered leaves of Autumn (XXI, pp. 259-260)!

Although there is no connection between the legendary Hiawatha and the coming of the White man, the picture of Hiawatha himself welcoming the Jesuit missionaries and his exhortation to his people that they listen to the "words of wisdom" of the strangers, adapted from Pere Marquette,⁸⁹ is on the whole rather typical of the way in which may of the Indians welcomed the first settlers.

Whether Longfellow at all sensed the poignancy of the Indian's sorrow as his own way of life, the way which gave life all the meaning it had for him, was undermined, we cannot know, but if he did, he evaded this theme in order to create beauty. And this raises a question as to whether this creation of beauty is entirely a falsification of Indian life and mentality, whether the Indian in his own way did feel a beauty in life and nature.

One of the chief merits of the poem, perhaps its chief merit, is found in its feeling for nature and for the life of the woods. Longfellow's Maine background came to his assistance here. Even in our own day the largest centers of population in Maine are not too remote from the feeling of the great woods. To be sure, the Indian may not have felt nature exactly as it is felt in the poem, but Longfellow does not portray it entirely from a vacationist point of view; he brings us not only the rushing of waters, the wind in the trees, the odors of the forest, the moonlight and starlight, sunrise and sunset, the birds and the wild animals, but also the bitter cold, the ice and snow of winter. A wintry atmosphere prevails throughout much of the poem. But even in the midst of the bitter cold and the famine which caused the death of Minnehaha, the real Hiawatha would probably not have wanted to change his way of life for that which we consider the only possible one. In Hervey Allen's *The Forest and the Fort* there is an episode of a White boy captured by the Indians in infancy and brought up in the belief that he himself is an Indian. The first time he entered a White dwelling, he recoiled in disgust at "the faintly fecal odor of civilization."⁹⁰

In both Heckewelder and Schoolcraft Longfellow had found justification for his contention that

in even savage bosoms
 There are longings, yearnings, strivings
 For the good they comprehend not,
 That the feeble hands and helpless,
 Groping blindly in the darkness,
 Touch God's right hand in that darkness
 And are lifted up and strengthened (Int., p. 119).

although an anthropologist would hardly accept this as a relevant account of what goes on in the savage's mind.

In conclusion, we have attempted to show that while Longfellow portrays truthfully the external facts of Indian life, including the natural setting and tribal customs, and omitting only the portrayal of warfare, he does not convey the psychological truth about the Indian and did not aim to do so. Any approach to such truth, as in the revelations of what might be called the "Dionysian" mood, seems to be accidental. Throughout the poem the White man's aspirations and his conventional moral values and sentiments are attributed to the Indian. Although Longfellow uses many actual Indian myths, he fails to grasp their real significance as revealing a kind of animism foreign to his own way of thinking. Longfellow was able to create a pleasing poem out of the materials on Indian life, but he had not the necessary depth either for the interpretation of matter so profound as primitive myth, or for feeling the poignancy of the red man's fate.

NOTES

¹ See Paul Morin, *Les Sources de L'Oeuvre de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Paris, 1913), pp. 49, 78-82; Stith Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 128-140; W. L. Schramm, "Hiawatha and its Predecessors," *Philological Quarterly*, XI (1932), 321-343; Albert Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature* (New York, 1933), pp. 189-208. Any apparent generalizations about the Indians in this study should be understood as referring to the Northeast and Central Woodland tribes.

² Keiser, p. 207.

³ Schramm, pp. 342-343; Thompson, p. 140.

⁴ See Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1891), II, pp. 277, 275, 278, 292, 293, 294-295.

⁵ Especially his *Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, Transactions of the Am. Phil. Soc., I (Philadelphia, 1819); also in *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, XII (Philadelphia, 1876). Further references are to the latter edition.

⁶ For a discussion of Heckewelder's competence and his limitations, see Paul A. W. Wallace, "They Knew the Indian: the Men who Wrote the Moravian Records," *Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCV, No. 3 (June, 1951), 290-295; and his "Indians and the Fenimore Cooper Tradition," *ibid*, XCVI (Nov., 1952), 496-504.

⁷ See Heckewelder, pp. xxiii-xxiv, and Roy H. Pearce, *The Savages of America* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 115-117.

⁸ Samuel Longfellow, I, 32.

⁹ See Pearce, pp. 190-194.

¹⁰ (New York, 1839), First Series, 2 vols. Pearce, p. 121, refers to an edition of 1830. This is not listed in the bibliography in Chase S. Osborn and Stellanova Osborn, *Schoolcraft-Longfellow-Hiawatha* (Lancaster, Pa., 1942), p. 102. Longfellow in his notes to the poem refers to *Algic Researches*, I, 134, and to the same author's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Part III, 1853, p. 314, as his chief sources for the legend of his hero. It is not the aim of this paper to treat Longfellow's sources exhaustively. Complete lists of the sources may be found in Thompson, op. cit., p. 130n; Morin, pp. 50-51; M. O. Broili, *Die Hauptquellen von Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha* (Würzburg, 1898).

¹¹ Samuel Longfellow, II, 300-301. Twenty years earlier Schoolcraft, replying to a request from Washington Irving for Indian material, had remarked that he believed that the Indian tales should be preserved in their original form and not regarded "as mere materials to be worked up by the literary loom," though by one of the leading American authors. (*Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers.....A. D. 1812 to A. D. 1842*, Philadelphia, 1851, pp. 514-515).

¹² (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1929).

¹³ "Mythology and Folk Tales of the North American Indians," (In *Anthropology in North America*, New York, 1915), p. 306.

¹⁴ *Tales of the North American Indians*, pp. xv-xvi.

¹⁵ In *The Myth of Hiawatha* (1856), p. 51, Schoolcraft remarks that Longfellow has "given prominence" to the myth (of Manabozho) "by selecting and generalizing such traits as appeared best susceptible of poetic uses."

¹⁶ The name appears in different forms. This is the form used by Thompson (see *Tales of the North American Indians*, p. 8).

¹⁷ This name also varies. This is the spelling used by Dr. Ruth Benedict in "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, No. 29 (1923), p. 33.

¹⁸ Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, III, 314-315. Schoolcraft claimed that he had first learned of the identification of Hiawatha and Manabozho from the Chippewas (Ojibways) of Lake Superior in 1822 (*The Myth of Hiawatha*, 1956, p. 13). Joshua V. H. Clark in *Onondaga: or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times* (Syracuse, 1849), I, 30n, 31, states that he had the account of the Iroquois demigod from Captain Frost and from La Fort, Onondaga chiefs, in February, 1845, and that the material in Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois* was taken from a manuscript which Clark had furnished to the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser of New York*. See also *Notes on the Iroquois* (Albany, 1847), pp. 272-283; the *Myth of Hiawatha*, p. 190; Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 34-36; J. N. B. Hewitt, "Hiawatha" (in F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indians*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, XXX, Part I, Washington, 1907, 546); and "A Constitutional League of Peace in the Stone Age of America. The League of the Iroquois and its Constitution" (*Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution*, 1918), pp. 537-540; Rev. William Beauchamp, *The Founders of the New York Iroquois League and its Probable Date* (Rochester, 1921), pp. 7-30.

¹⁹ Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 129.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 137. For an attempted explanation of the merging of the idea of a trickster with that of a creator, see Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), p. 271.

²¹ *Algic Researches*, I, 53, 134-174; *Indian Tribes*, I, 317-319; III, 528; V, 157; see also Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," pp. 132-134; Hewitt, "Nanabozho" (in Hodge, *Handbook*, Part II, Washington, 1910, p. 19).

²² I, 137-139, 172; II, 60.

²³ P. xv. An 1860 edition of this work, appearing under the title of *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, refers to Manabo as another name for Hiawatha. In *The Myth of Hiawatha*, published in 1856, the year following that of Longfellow's poem, Schoolcraft places his story of Manabozho, from *Algic Researches*, at the beginning of this revised collection under the title of "Hiawatha, or, Manabozho." He omits some rather gruesome details from his original, regarding the birth of his hero.

²⁴ William Jones, "The Algonkin Manitou," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1905), 183-190. See also Alexander, *North American Mythology* (in *Mythology of All Races*, ed. L. H. Gray, X (Boston, 1916), 18.

²⁵ Alexander, pp. 39-42. See also Hewitt, "Nanabozho" (in Hodge, *Handbook*, Part II, p. 21).

²⁶ Alexander, pp. 297-298.

²⁷ Brinton, *The Chief God of the Algonkins in his Character as a Cheat and a Liar*, Brinton Papers (reprinted from *The American Antiquarian*, May, 1885).

²⁸ Pp. 271-283. Thompson in "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 130n, for some reason has omitted this from his list of sources. Osborn and Osborn has also omitted it (p. 102). Longfellow could have been familiar with the more detailed account of Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha in Clark, I, 21-31.

²⁹ See also Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes*, Part VI, 1857, 662, where the magic canoe is given to Manabosho [sic].

³⁰ *Poems*, Modern Library Edition, p. 118, Introduction to "Hiawatha." All subsequent references are to this edition.

³¹ For a more detailed account of the Indian names and words used in the poem see Broili, pp. 55, 80-83.

³² See p. 6 above.

³³ See Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, pp. 459-460, also Schoolcraft's letter to Longfellow in S. Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, II, 301.

³⁴ Alexander, p. 303. See also Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, p. 85, and *History of the Indian Tribes*, Part II, p. 71-74.

³⁵ Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, pp. 254-256; *Western Scenes and Reminiscences* (Auburn, Buffalo, 1853), pp. 179-183.

³⁶ Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, p. 165; *Heckewelder*, pp. 268-276.

³⁷ Schramm, p. 342. Rather unexpectedly Longfellow expresses approval of "the wilder parts," including the Wai Song, in a musical setting of the poem by Herr Stoepel in 1859 (S. Longfellow, II, 368).

³⁸ *CEA Critic*, November, 1953, p. 2.

³⁹ See *The Deerslayer*, Chs. IX, X; and *The Last of the Mohicans*, Ch. XIV.

⁴⁰ See Pearce, p. 195.

⁴¹ Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, I, 135-136. In Thompson's version (*Tales of the North American Indians*, pp. 9-10) the birth is a triple one: Manabozho, a little wolf, and a sharp stone, which causes the mother's death. For a discussion of the wolf brother, see p. 000 below.

⁴² See Edwin Disney Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, 2 vols. (London, 1909-1910).

⁴³ Cf. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, I, 143.

⁴⁴ *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), pp. 73-78; see also by the same author "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," p. 26, and Lowie, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ *Algic Researches*, I, 148-150n.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 35; *Heckewelder*, p. 246.

⁴⁹ "Mythology and Folk Tales of the North American Indians," p. 331.

⁵⁰ Paul Radin, *The World of Primitive Man* (New York, 1953), p. 336.

⁵¹ *Algic Researches*, I, 150. The story that old Nokomis unwarily tells the little Hiawatha of the warrior who threw his grandmother right against the moon is, in at least one version of the Menomini Indians, told of Manabozho himself, who was angry at his grandmother because of the bear paramour (Alanson Skinner and John V. Satterlee, *Folklore of the Menomini Indians* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XIII, Part III, New York, 1915), 253.

⁵² *Algic Researches*, I, 122-128.

⁵³ Among many North American tribes four was the mystic number and among the Crows the vision was frequently experienced on the fourth day of fasting (Lowie, pp. 284, 13). Longfellow's familiarity with the significance of the number four is also revealed in XIX, 248, and XX, 253, in references to the four days' journey of the departed spirit to the land of the hereafter,

but he seems to have derived this knowledge from some source other than Schoolcraft. In the *Algic Researches* (I, 149-123) Manabozho fasted for "several days," and Wunzh saw his vision on the *third* day of his fasting.

⁵⁴ Note also the Dionysiac mood of the scene which follows (p. 229). Pau-Puk-Keewis, climbing to the top of a high mountain, lies stretched there while below him "Plashed and washed the dreamy waters," and above "Swam the dizzy, dreamy heavens."

⁵⁵ Alexander, p. 51.

⁵⁶ Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 136 & n. Longfellow derives his separation of the two, represented by him as mutual enemies, from Schoolcraft (see *Algic Researches*, I, 213-220).

⁵⁷ Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d ed. (New York, 1935), Part V, Vol. I, pp. 177, 206-207, 217, 251-253; Hewitt, "Nanabozho" (in Hodge, *Handbook*, Part II, 22); Thompson, *The Folk Tale* (New York, 1946), p. 318. See also Alexander, pp. 289-290.

⁵⁸ Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 614; *Oneota*, pp. 20-21; Frazer, Part V, Vol. I, pp. 238-239; James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans* (London, 1828), pp. 381-382; Alexander, pp. 285-286, 303-306.

⁵⁹ For an account of pictorial records of the Ojibways "incised upon bark with a pointed piece of bone" see Lowie, 264. In Longfellow the pictures are painted in colors.

⁶⁰ Cf exploits of Manabozho and of Taronhiawagon, p. 8 above.

⁶¹ *Algic Researches*, I, 146-153.

⁶² "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 139; *Tales of the North American Indians*, pp. xv-xvi.

⁶³ See Pearce, pp. 171-174.

⁶⁴ The pictorial love song described by Longfellow in "Picture Writing" is derived from a plate in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, I, 1851, opp. p. 401, and the interpretation on pp. 403-404. For the two songs sung by Chibiabos at Hiawatha's wedding feast, Indian originals are claimed: one given in the Indian tongue with an English prose translation in Schoolcraft's *Oneota* (p. 15) was only slightly adapted by Longfellow, and the other, taken from Littell's *Living Age* (XXV, 1850, 45) was adapted to Longfellow's trochaic metre.

One romantic love story is found in Schoolcraft's collection, "The Red Lover, A Chippewa Tale," including parental opposition, death in battle of the young warrior who is trying to prove his worth, and the pining to death of the bereaved girl (*Algic Researches*, I, 87-95). Failure to find a corresponding tale in the more authentic collection of Thompson arouses suspicion as to how much of the story is the contribution of Schoolcraft himself.

⁶⁵ See Heckewelder, p. 154 et seq.; Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, pp. 82, 196.

⁶⁶ Heckewelder, p. 162. Dr. Wallace ("They Knew the Indian: . . .," p. 294) remarks that Heckewelder is most reliable, not when he is generalizing about "the Indian," but when he is relating his own experiences with particular Indians.

⁶⁷ Heckewelder, p. 161.

⁶⁸ Thompson, *Tales*, etc., p. 281.

⁶⁹ See Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, 455; *Algic Researches*, I, 42.

⁷⁰ Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 252-256; Frazer, Part V, Vol. II, pp. 204-206, 217-219.

⁷¹ "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 138.

⁷² *Algic Researches*, I, 162-164; Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," pp. 132-133, 134; Hewitt, "Nanabozho" (in Hodge, *Handbook*, Part II, 20; William Jones, *Ojibwa Texts*, ed. Truman Michelson (Pubs. Am. Ethnological Soc., Leyden, 1917), VII, Part I, Nos. 10, 31, 45; Paul Radin, *Some Myths and Tales of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario* (Canadian Geological Survey, Anthropological Series, II, Ottawa, 1914), pp. 19-20, 22. See also Alexander, pp. 39, 41.

Broili (p. 21) points out the resemblance of Chibiabos, the singer, to "dem Finnischen Apollo Wainamoinen," the minstrel (see *Kalevala*, tr. J. M. Crawford, New York, 1888, Runes XLI, XLIII, pp. 605-628). Other related passages in the two poems are pointed out by Broili (pp. 17-23), and Keiser

(pp. 195-196). As Longfellow has stated, in some cases there was a resemblance between the legends of the *Kalevala* and those of Longfellow's Indian originals (Samuel Longfellow, II, 297). For a full discussion of Longfellow's use of the *Kalevala* in regard to meter and other matters see Waino Nyland, "Kalevala as a Reputed Source of Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*" (*American Literature*, XXII, 1950-1951, 1-20).

⁷³ See p. 12 above.

⁷⁴ *Algie Researches*, I, 219.

⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, I, 57-66. Manabozho is usually the hero of this story (see Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 136).

⁷⁶ *Indian Nations*, p. 255.

⁷⁷ Thompson, *Tales of the North American Indians*, pp. 274-275, 312, xvii and 273, 310, 334, 321, 316.

⁷⁸ Alexander, p. 295.

⁷⁹ Thompson, *Tales*, etc., pp. 357, 346, 311, 319, 327, 274.

⁸⁰ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, II, 273.

⁸¹ *Algie Researches*, I, 51-52.

⁸² Franz Boas, "Mythology and Folk Tales of the North American Indians," p. 324.

⁸³ *Algie Researches*, II, 61-66. It is significant that this story does not appear in later collections (see Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," p. 136).

⁸⁴ For original of story see *Algie Researches*, II, 152-159.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 164.

⁸⁶ S. Longfellow, II, 294.

⁸⁷ Broili, p. 76n.

⁸⁸ (London, 1845), II, 156-159.

⁸⁹ Father James Marquette, "Relation of the Voyages, Discoveries, and Death" (by Father Claudius Dablon), 1678 (in J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 2d ed., Albany, 1903), pp. 23-27.

⁹⁰ (New York, 1943), p. 113.

AN INDIAN LOVE RITUAL OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

BY PAUL FRAZIER

*Southeast Missouri State College
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(Miss Jeanene Langdon, a student of Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, gave the material here. Minna Sauk and Tomias were Miss Langdon's ancestors.)

A long time ago, when the Indians roamed southeast Missouri, Minna Sauk and Tomias met and fell in love. Minna Sauk wished to become the bride of Tomias, but she was afraid her tribal gods would not sanction her marriage to a member of another tribe. She confided in her grandmother, and the wise old woman told her of a ritual which would assure her of a happy life with Tomias.

"You must go to the place of the high rock with Tomias," instructed the old woman. "Then each of you walk in different direc-

tions around the rock three times. When you meet the third time, join hands and walk around the rock once more; this means that you are willing to leave your separate ways and walk together. Then you must kiss Tomias on the forehead; this means you love him with your mind. Next, kiss his cheeks; this tells him and the gods you love him spiritually. Then kiss his mouth; this means you love him physically. But, remember, Minna Sauk, you may never perform this ritual more than once! If you do your life will be very unhappy."

Minna Sauk and Tomias performed the ritual described and lived long and happy lives; their happiness perhaps continued in the happy hunting ground.

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ARAPAHO TALES III

BY ZDENEK SALZMANN
Verde Valley School
Sedona, Arizona

This paper concludes the presentation of Arapaho tales recorded by the author among the Northern Arapaho of the Wind River Indian Reservation (Wyoming).¹ An analysis of the entire published body of Arapaho traditional narratives into types and motifs is under preparation.

I

This section presents four Arapaho tales volunteered by the late John B. Goggles (1883-1952) of Ethete, Wyoming. Variants of all four were published in Dorsey and Kroeber's *Traditions of the Arapaho*,² to which collection all references to variants are made.

WHITE MAN AND THE BEAVERS

White Man and the Beavers is a close variant of No. 25 (pp. 58-59) up to the point where White Man clubs to death most of the beavers in his company. From there, the Goggles' version proceeds as follows:

Then White Man dug a hole in the ground and built a fire next to it. He threw a few rocks into the fire to heat them up. When the rocks became hot, he pushed them down into the hole, and over them he placed the dead beavers. He covered them first with short branches and then with dirt. Then he waited until all the beavers were cooked soft.

When he thought they were cooked, White Man took off the dirt and the branches and pulled the beavers out. He laid them on the ground to cool them off. He walked around and felt good. Suddenly he saw a coyote limping toward him on three legs. The coyote was skinny and starved. He said to White Man, "Brother, would you share some of your meat with me? I'm starving, because I'm lame and can't get any food for myself." "I wouldn't just give you food, you have to earn it," said White Man. "You're a coyote and so you're a fast runner. You have four legs and I have only two. I'll run a race with you. We'll go some distance away from here and then we'll race back to this place. Whoever gets here first will start eating right away; the one who arrives last will eat only what's left." The coyote was very hungry and so he said he would try.

They went quite a distance before they stopped. White Man was jumping around feeling good. Just before they started to run, the coyote said, "You ought to pity me! You see that I'm lame. Why don't you tie some rocks to your ankles and around your waist and neck. If you do that, maybe I won't finish too far behind you. I know you'll get to the meat first and if I'm too far behind, there won't be anything left for me." White Man tied some rocks around him thinking he would drop them as he ran. Then the coyote said, "You ought to give me a head start!" "You can have a head start," answered White Man. So the coyote took a head start. "When I say 'four,' we'll start running. Are you ready?" asked White Man. They were all set. White Man counted, "One, two, three—four!" and they started to run.

The coyote jumped ahead and ran fast on all fours. As White Man ran behind him, he was trying to shake all the rocks loose, but he could not get rid of them all. He was still far from the meat when the coyote was already eating. White Man shouted as he ran, "Hey, brother, save half of the meat for me!" But the coyote did not listen to him and ate as fast as he could, throwing away bare bones. When he finished eating, he ran up a hill near by. He saw White Man, who was just reaching the place where there were only bones left. "I'm all filled up, I'm smart," called the coyote to him. "All right," said White Man, "I'll get you sometime." The coyote just laughed and ran away with a full belly.

WHITE MAN AND THE DUCKS

White Man and the Ducks is a close variant of No. 26 (pp. 59-60) up to the point where White Man clubs a large number of the ducks to death. From there, the Goggles' version continues with the preparation of the food and the race with the sly coyote, the account being substantially the same as in the foregoing tale. According to the informant, the words of the song to which the ducks danced went as follows:

Red legs have ordered that whoever opens his eyes shall die.

BLUEBIRD AND THE BUFFALO-WOMAN

Bluebird and the Buffalo-Woman has been recorded previously in two variants, Nos. 144 and 145 (pp. 388-404). In what follows below, only those portions are reproduced which differ from the previously published versions; the remaining parts are summarized in brackets.

Many years ago a man named Bluebird had two wives—Buffalo-Woman and Elk-Woman. Buffalo-Woman bore him a baby boy and when Elk-Woman knew of it, she was very angry. Whenever she saw Buffalo-Woman, she would call her names and say that she was ugly because her hair was curly and her face was black. Finally Buffalo-Woman decided that she had had enough of such treatment. She made up her mind that she and her son would go away and look for her people, the buffaloes. So one day she left with her son.

[Looking for their relatives, they inquire about them from three buffalo herds until they find them in the fourth—the largest herd.]

When Buffalo-Woman had been gone for some time, Bluebird said to his father, "I'm going out to look for my son. I don't want the woman back, but I do want my son." "If you think you can find your son, go ahead," his father told him. Bluebird prepared for his journey, but before he left he again talked to his father. "Every day go up on a high hill and look around in every direction. Watch for a cloud of white dust whirling up to the sky. If you see anything like that, it will be a sign that I've been killed." He also told his father to mark the direction of the whirling dust so that he would be able to send someone to look for Bluebird. Then he set off to look for his boy.

[On his way Bluebird inquires from the same three buffalo herds until he comes to the fourth herd. As he sits on top of a hill overlooking the herd, his son recognizes him.]

Somehow the calf knew that the man on the hill was his father; he ran to his mother and said to her, "My father is here; he is sitting over there on that ridge. May I go see him?" Buffalo-Woman answered, "I can't see anything. Go to your uncles and tell them that you want to go to see your father. If they'll let you go, you may go." So the calf went over to his uncles and asked if he could go to see his father, who was sitting on the ridge. "Yes," they said, "you may go to your father. Tell him to come down here. We want to talk to him."

[Gladly the calf runs to his father who then comes down to the herd. He is told that he can take his son home, but first a series of four tests awaits him. The calf offers to substitute for him and is permitted to do so in the first two instances—a race against young bulls and a four-day and four-night dance. The race is won with the help of a little blue feather which Bluebird ties behind the calf's head. The dance is accomplished by the calf's dancing on four turtles which Bluebird provides; the other dancers lose because during the four days they cut ruts so deep in the earth that they can

hardly move. In the third test Bluebird recognizes his son among a herd of restless calves by his moving his right ear and wagging his tail a little. The fourth test, consisting of listening to a long story for four nights and four days without falling asleep, Bluebird decides to take himself; in spite of his son's shaking, he falls asleep on the morning of the fourth day and is trampled by the buffaloes until there is nothing left of him to be seen.]

As the buffaloes were trampling Bluebird, dust was whirled high into the sky, where it shone in the sunlight. Bluebird's father had been watching every day; now he saw the white dust in the sky and knew that his son had been destroyed there. He marked the direction of the cloud of dust to be sure that he would remember it. Then he went home and sadly told the people that he was afraid his son had been killed. "I'm going to bring back my son; I'm sure there must be something left of him," he told them. Then he sent out a magpie in the direction of the dust. "Go in that direction until you come to a place where there are many buffalo tracks and much dust. Then fly down to the ground and listen there; you will hear my son groaning like a sick person." So the magpie did as he was told and listened closely at that place. Finally he heard someone groaning beneath him. The magpie scratched up the earth there and found a blue feather. He flew back to Bluebird's father with the feather and showed it to him. The father was very glad to see it and said, "My son is not dead! I want a sweat lodge built right away. I will take my boy's feather into it and bring him out with me." So the lodge was prepared and Bluebird's father took the feather into it. Other people went in too. When they were through, all the men came out and joined the other people who stood watching. Soon they saw Bluebird, alive, come out with his father.

When the buffaloes heard that Bluebird was alive, they gathered themselves together and started toward the camp of Bluebird's father. They planned to destroy everything and everybody there. While the buffaloes were on the way, the magpie saw them and rushed back to the camp to warn the people that the buffaloes were coming to destroy them. Bluebird's people prepared for them. They cut willow branches from a certain kind of willow known to be very strong. With the willows they made a woven fence all around their camp. It was so closely woven and so strong that no animal, not even a buffalo, could break through it. When the buffaloes reached the camp they surrounded it and began to try to break the fence with their horns. But instead of breaking the fence they broke their

horns, and the people inside the fence shot and killed them. Some of them ran for their lives, but many were lying dead along the fence. When everything was quiet, the calf, who had been hiding, showed himself, ran to his father, and was turned into a human like Bluebird.

Soon the people began to gather up the buffaloes that they had killed. They cut them up so that they could have the meat to eat. They said that from that time on all animals including buffaloes would be eaten by humans. This is the end of the story.

UNTITLED TALE

The following story—a more elaborate variant of No. 114—was volunteered by Goggles without a title. It was said to be a Comanche story which the informant heard from a Southern Arapaho.

A long time ago, before the Indians were under the United States government, there were two brothers of the Comanche tribe. When they were young they became orphans, and they were very poor. When they grew up, the older brother married the daughter of the chief. The two brothers lived with the chief, who had another daughter and two sons.

These two brothers, who were good wrestlers, used to go out early in the morning to hunt for meat. Once in a while the younger man stayed at home while his brother was hunting; on those days his sister-in-law, who liked him, would come to him and suggest that they go off some place and live away from the tribe. The young man did not want to do this because he loved his brother very much, but when the young woman kept asking him to leave with her, he finally agreed and they ran away. They went toward where the Kiowas lived, who at that time were enemies of the Comanches.

And so they reached a Kiowa camp. The people there were about to move away. The couple watched the Kiowas from behind a hill, and when the camp was empty they went to it. There they found good shade. It was a hot summer day and so they went into a shade; inside they saw a mirror hanging from a branch. The Comanche told the woman, "We'll stay here and wait. The man who owns this mirror will be back to look for it."

Soon they saw a man on horseback coming right toward the place where they were waiting. The Comanche said to the woman, "We'll stay here till he comes; don't be afraid. I'll take care of the rest. I'll pretend to make peace with him." Then the Kiowa reached the shade. He was smiling. The Comanche stepped out from the shade and met him with a smile. He asked him to get off his

horse and sit down, and then said, "We're going to smoke a peace pipe. But before, we'll put our weapons away from the place where we will sit." The Comanche had already planned what he would do with this Kiowa. So they put their weapons away, and sat down and began to talk with signs. The Comanche told the Kiowa, "We're going to smoke now." So they smoked the pipe. Now this Comanche woman somehow began to like the Kiowa. While the two men were smoking, the Comanche grabbed the Kiowa and held him down. He called to the woman to get a spear and stick it through the Kiowa's chest. But this woman would not do it; she just stood there and stared. The Comanche knew right away that she was not going to help him. After a while he got tired; the Kiowa got on top of him and made a sign to the woman to get the spear. She went right away and brought it. The Kiowa said, "Pierce him through the chest. I'll take you back with me." The woman pierced the Comanche, but somehow the spear did not go into his chest; it slid off a rib without killing him. Before she could stick him again, the Comanche thought that to save himself he should make a vow. He prayed for his life so that he could get the best of the Kiowa and be able to go back to his tribe. He knew that all this was not his fault, but the woman's.

After he had prayed, he got loose and grabbed the Kiowa, threw him down, and held him. Then he told the woman to get his big knife and cut the Kiowa's throat. She got the knife and did it. The Kiowa bled to death. The Comanche was tired and hurt, and so he sat down and began to take care of his wounds. He told the woman, "Cut off his scalp; we'll take it back home." So she skinned the head, and they got ready to go back where they came from.

They traveled for several days and nights. When they got back, it was dark, and they went right in. The older brother grabbed his younger brother and kissed him. "I'm glad you're back," he said; "I don't care what happened, I know it isn't your doing; it's her fault. I don't blame you." Then the chief came in and asked what had happened. The young man told him all about it. The chief decided to call all the men together to talk things over. So everybody came. When they were all there, the young man told how everything had happened. Then the people talked about it. Some of them said that this time it should all be forgotten, but the others did not think so. Finally it was left to the woman's brothers. These brothers thought a lot of their brother-in-law, and they decided they would kill their sister because she was a bitch. So they got

their bows and arrows and then stood on each side of the tent and called to their sister to come out. She wrapped her head with blankets and went out. She was shot down by arrows. Then they dragged her body away from the camp and left it there.

After this all the Comanches moved their camp to a different place. The woman's brothers did not want their brother-in-law to leave them. They said, "We still have one sister." The younger brother thought that the vow he made should be kept right away with a ceremony, and the old people who knew how to do it helped him. When all this was done, the older brother married his sister-in-law.

The Comanches do not like to be reminded of this story. When they think about it as they come back from a trip, they beat up their wives.

II

The following tale, volunteered without a title by Arnold Headly (born 1922) of Ethete, Wyoming, is an abbreviated version of No. 5 (The Flood) of Dorsey and Kroeber's *Traditions of the Arapaho*. In what follows below, only those portions are reproduced which differ from the already published version.

[An old couple with a daughter and young son live near a river. Every morning when getting water from the river the girl finds a freshly killed animal which the family uses for food.]

One night the girl went to the river, dug a hole, and hid in it. Toward morning she heard a rumbling sound, and when she looked out she saw a big flat rock which opened up and dropped a deer to the ground. The rock said, "I wonder how the family is doing!"

[Upon hearing what has happened, the father decides that they should all leave the place immediately. The girl hides four baby moccasins in different places, and they set out. A few days later the rock discovers that the family has left and pursues them. The four moccasins successively start crying and delay the rock, which returns each time thinking a baby has been left behind. As the family flees, the old man, his wife, and the boy each in turn become tired and stay behind. They are all swallowed by the rock.]

The rock was now following the girl. She happened to come to a place where a man was making arrows. He asked her why she was running. She told him the story and begged him to save her, saying she would marry him. "All right," said the man, "Just stand behind me!" They did not have long to wait. The rock came along and demanded the girl. "Get her," said the man. The rock opened

and wanted to suck them in, but it could not because of the arrows the man held in his hands. The rock tried several times and finally said, "You are stronger than I; strike my head!" The man struck the rock where he thought the head was. It split, and inside they saw the girl's dead family. The man asked the girl if she wanted them back. She answered that her parents were too old but that she wanted her young brother. So the man told the boy, "Get up and come with us!" and the boy began to move. Before they left the place, the man said to the rock, "What you've been doing is not good. From now on you will always break up into small pieces!" That is why sandstone always breaks up into small pieces.

[At the man's home, his other wife—a crow—is jealous of the girl, and one day she drowns her by cutting the ropes of a swing hanging over a pool. She calls to a monster which lives in the water, "Here is your food." Crying, she tells her husband and the sister's brother upon their return that the girl fell into the water by accident. The young boy carries his sister's baby along the bank of the river, and suddenly in the waves the water monster (described by the informant as having a long powerful body, four legs, and a tail, and being able to throw fire out of its eyes) lifts the girl so she can nurse her baby.]

The young man asked his brother-in-law how he could get his sister back. His brother-in-law answered, "When she comes up, stab around her with a knife and release her." The young man did as he was told, and then the water started to rise. As the valleys became filled with water, they all climbed to a high peak. The husband painted one of his feet red and the other black, and then he began to stretch them out. The water started going down, and all kinds of fish and serpents were seen all over the land. The man went down from the peak and told the water animals, "Wherever you are, just go right into the ground and become the heads of springs and rivers."

The Indians still believe that wherever there is a spring there is also some kind of a fish or serpent guarding it.

William Shakespeare (born 1901) of Arapahoe, Wyoming, volunteered the the tale sé?eslwonóho?e 'The Sleepy Boy' in Arapaho and also provided its English translation; the tale was written down but not recorded on wire, and therefore it was not included among the published texts.³

For variants of THE SLEEPY BOY see Dorsey and Kroeber's Nos. 69 and 70 (pp. 126-135). Shakespeare's version follows No. 69 closely but is less verbose; there are only a few minor differences between the two: in Shakespeare's rendition of the tale the boy's mother

does the expostulating; the boy leaves his home to find the 'pin-heads' ['red curly-headed people'] rather than the 'cannibals'; and a *crow* acts as guard for the pinheads. Shakespeare's version lacks the smallest, cunning cannibal who is constantly suspicious of Sleepy Boy; it concludes with the festive return home of Sleepy Boy.

All the remaining narrative material in this section was obtained from Ralph Edward G. Hopper (born 1908) of Ethete, Wyoming.

He volunteered the tale *WHITE MAN AND THE FOX*, a variant of which was also obtained from Goggles in Arapaho.⁴ Hopper's version starts with White Man being approached by an old fox who pretends to be lame and who offers his help in cleaning the meat of a deer which White Man has just killed. From this point on Hopper's narrative is substantially the same as the tale told by Goggles except for the omission of the final incident with fire.

Another tale obtained from Hopper under the same title does not differ appreciably from Dorsey and Kroeber's No. 20. White Man boasts to a fox that he can fool him without any difficulty. He changes into a dead elk and later into a dead deer, but each time he is recognized by the fox. Then in turn the fox changes into a handsome girl and does not reveal his true identity until White Man has proposed marriage to him.

Hopper's version of *ONE-EYED SIOUX AND HIS DAUGHTER* is substantially the same as Dorsey and Kroeber's Nos. 42 and 43; as far as the amount of detail, it is intermediate between the two, with the intimacies of No. 42 left out.

Of the three stories recorded below in full, *The Man and the Bear* resembles Dorsey and Kroeber's No. 97; the other two appear to be new additions to the already large body of published Arapaho traditions.

STRONG-BEAR

Once there were Arapaho people camping during a hard winter. They did not have anything to eat because buffalo, deer, and elk were scarce. They were having a hard time. Strong-Bear was the only man who could get out to get food—the only one who could stand the cold weather. So he went to the mountains, and there he found some buffaloes which he killed for meat. He had a donkey to load the meat on and a horse to ride. Strong-Bear stopped overnight on top of a mountain, cutting up his meat and packing it, getting ready to go back home. And that night he made a big fire where he was camping. While he was sitting there, he heard somebody coming, his teeth rattling with the cold. The visitor was saying,

"I'm cold, I'm cold," and was coming toward him. Then Strong-Bear saw that it was a skeleton. It said, "I'm cold, my friend." Strong-Bear said, "Sit down and warm yourself. I have a fire here. You come on over here and sit by me. I'm going to cook some fat." So the ghost came over and sat by him. The ghost was very scared of Strong-Bear. Whenever Strong-Bear moved, the ghost would dodge away from him. Strong-Bear said, "What is the matter, my friend? I'm cooking fat; you and I are going to eat supper." So he got the fat all cooked. It was very greasy. While he was holding it, he poured it over the ghost's head. The ghost jumped up and ran, screaming "ouch, ouch!" He was badly burned; he fell down and all his bones went to pieces. Strong-Bear sat there laughing—what he had done to the ghost was funny to him. The next morning when he woke up, he looked around and saw the bones piled up there. The skull was still covered with the fat. So he took it with the fat on it home with him to show it to his people. When he arrived, he told his wife to cook a big supper and invite all the men to eat with him. The men all came, and he told them what had happened. "Sometimes people don't believe in things, but I'll show you what I brought." They all saw the skull with the fat, and they believed him. And this is the end of the story of Strong-Bear and the ghost.

TWO MEN AND A BEAR

Two men were hunting in the timber looking for wild game. They saw fresh bear tracks there. So they looked around to see if there were any bears near, and one of these men told his friend, "You walk over there a little way and I'll stay here. And while you're over there you look around for that bear. I'll stay here and look for it here." Lying there on the ground was an old broken log which this man stood on to look around for the bear. The old bear was sleeping under that log, and while the man looked around, the bear woke up. As he jumped up, the man slipped off the log right onto the bear's back. He was riding on him. The bear really scared him, and he had to hang on to the bear's hair as hard as he could because the bear was running at full speed. The man's friend saw him riding on the bear, and it made him laugh. Finally the man fell off and the bear disappeared. The man was lying there unconscious when his friend came along, looked at him, and laughed some more. Finally the man came to and they both laughed. And that is the end of the story.

THE MAN AND THE BEAR

A group of men were on the warpath, out on a war party looking for their enemies. There was one man who was stronger than the rest, and he was a very smart and very brave man who was not afraid of anything. When they were following the trail this man was in the lead. As they were going over a hill, they looked ahead and saw a bear coming toward them. The man who was so strong told his men, "You wait here; I'm going to get off my horse and walk toward that bear. I'm going to play with him." So he started off toward the bear. He lay down on the ground and pretended he was dead. The bear came up to him, looked at him, and lifted his big paw and felt his heart to see if he was dead or alive. The bear walked all around the man, smelling and sniffing, trying to find out if he was really dead. While the bear was doing this, the man jumped up all of a sudden and said, "What are you doing, Bear?" The bear jumped up too; he turned around quickly, twisting his back and breaking it, and he fell dead. That is how the smart man killed the bear.

NOTES

¹ The summer field trips in 1949, 1950, and 1952, during which these narratives were collected, were made possible by the American Philosophical Society and the Graduate School of Indiana University through grants which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

For the tales already published see Zdeněk Salzmänn, "An Arapaho Version of the Star Husband Tale," *Hoosier Folklore*, IX (1950), 50-58; Zdenek and Joy Salzmänn, "Arapaho Tales I," *HF*, IX (1950), 80-96; Zdenek and Joy Salzmänn, "Arapaho Tales II," *Midwest Folklore*, II (1952), 21-42; Zdenek Salzmänn, "Arapaho II: Texts," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXII (1956), 151-158; Zdenek Salzmänn, "Arapaho III: Additional Texts," *IJAL*, XXII (1956), 266-272.

² George A. Dorsey and Alfred L. Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho* (Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, Vol. V, Chicago, 1903).

³ See note 1.

⁴ See section 3.4 in my "Arapaho III: Additional Texts." For still another version of this tale see Dorsey and Kroeber's No. 28 (pp. 61-62).

THREE TRUE TALES FROM L'ARBRE CROCHE

COLLECTED BY JANE ETTAWAGESHIK

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY GERTRUDE PROKOSCH KURATH

Ann Arbor, Michigan

These tales and many others were collected by Jane Willets Ettawageshik in 1946 and later, at Harbor Springs, in the ancient Ottawa metropolis of "L'Arbre Croche." As a fellow of the American Philological Society, she wandered to Harbor Springs in the capacity of an ethnologist; she has remained as the wife of the eminent chief, Fred Ettawageshik.

The narrator of the first two tales, the late Joseph Chingwa, was one of the last traditionalists with a great fund of legends and songs. Susan Shagonaby, who tells the third story, is still one of the social leaders in the Indian community.

MKWANIWI AT BURT LAKE

At the green corn husking one year, each man had to tell a story. My granddad told this story (Joe Chingwa's grandfather, Mkwaniwi, "Louis Bear").

First you should know that Michigan was almost uninhabited then. Detroit was just mushrooming out.

One old man who had hunted many places, told a story. He said that there used to be elk and wild turkey and plenty of other species of game. This old man said he was never scared in his life, though he was often alone because he was a hunter and trapper.

Then it was up to my granddad. He said he made his living by hunting and trapping in his younger days. He once had a trap-line from Indian River to Mullet Lake. He trapped otter, fisher and marten because they were the prettiest animals. There was no sale for beaver and muskrat then.

The Indians at the mouth of Indian River had built a log cabin in case of a storm, so they could stay in it for shelter. Anyone was welcome to use it. It was just a log house.

One time late in the fall, my granddad had picked up his traps and had loaded them and his furs in his canoe. He came down the river and there was a north wind blowing. He could have crossed over to the Indian village at the end of Indian River, but he decided to stay at the point where the log shelter was because it was too rough.

He went into the pine forest and gathered dry limbs for a fire. It was becoming dark and the heavy sea seemed never to cease. He

built a wind break. He always carried a bear robe, so he got it from his canoe and made his bed of it. He made his evening meal and afterwards sat down to smoke.

It was getting dark, awful dark. Every now and then, Mkwaniwi threw wood in the fire. The night wore on. He was becoming uneasy (*m nsosag na*, "become uneasy"). He got up and walked around the shelter, but he couldn't see anyone. He went back and lit his pipe, but he couldn't sit still. Something was "crowding" him. He had never felt this way in his life.

He said, "I will take the windbreak down," because the fire was an attraction that could be seen a long way.

There used to be a marsh there with cat-tails and high grass. Mkwaniwi went in the marsh across the river in his canoe. He had an old muzzle-loading rifle with him. He waited but nothing showed up. It seemed like hours. Finally he felt better and slept as he sat in his canoe.

"When I woke up," Mkwaniwi said, "It was daylight. First thing I thought, I'm going back to the log house."

He went back across the river to the log house. Where the beach was smooth, he found all kinds of moccasin tracks, cut different on the soles (from Ottawa moccasins). These men had come after he went to sleep. Every where he had gone in the woods, they followed his tracks, but the tracks always went back to the log house. They couldn't figure out where he was. They had finally given up.

THE CHIEF WITH SEVEN SONS

Long ago the Indians went to the St. Joseph area to hunt, before Chicago was there. It was a swampy land. Sagowang village was at St. Joseph. A man, his wife and their 14 or 15-year-old daughter had their winter quarters there. The man went to where Chicago is now to trap muskrat. The girl goes down with a birch-bark bucket for water and she doesn't return. The Indians found the bucket at the water's edge.

Later, Ottawas coming home from the Plains ran into some Indians who had kidnapped the girl. They saw her and were told that she was taken to become the wife of the oldest son of the chief with seven sons. They said to tell her father not to worry. These Indians lived somewhere in the southwest.

The father gets up a band to go and get his daughter back. They rode on ponies. The girl gets to the southwest, but the chief had

moved farther west for some reason. The Ottawas follow and finally meet (the other Indians).

The two groups are friendly, so the chief gives a big feast. They had a special place for them (the Ottawas) to eat. They had buffalo meat, fish, prairie chickens.

After the father of the girl ate, he died shortly, though he was probably not poisoned. The Ottawas buried him there. The chief with seven sons claimed the pony. The Ottawas had no claim on the girl so they went back to Sagowang.

The chief in the southwest decided to have a wedding of his son and the Ottawa girl. He gave a big feast and there was much dancing and singing. But just an hour or two before the wedding was to take place, the oldest son died.

The second oldest son thought he'd marry the girl then, and the date was set for the wedding. But he died too in the same way.

Then the third son said he'd marry the Ottawa girl, but he too died as the others had done.

The fourth son said he'd marry the girl and the time was set, but he died too. So did the fifth and sixth sons. The seventh son said he'd try it. He was the last left, but he died too. So nobody got the girl.

The Ottawas found out about this much later at Haskell Institute. Some Ottawas saw an old woman in a blanket who looked like someone they knew. They said, *kegagonestagona* ("I almost know you"). She answered them in Ottawa and told them this story.

This is a true story, not a made-up story.

(Joe Chingwa. The story was told to him by Charley Green, an old man from the Horton's Bay vicinity. It has been recorded in Ottawa.)

LAST OF THE MASCOUTENS

The Ottawas were fighting the Dacotahs in Wisconsin. As the Ottawas returned in their canoes, after being defeated, some of the Mascoutens in their village near the present site of Cross Village stood on the lake shore and laughed at them. The Ottawa warriors were so angry, they fought their Mascouten neighbors, killing everyone but a young couple who were lovers. The young couple were the only ones of the entire village to escape. They fled to East Mountain not far from Harbor Springs. The place where the battle was fought was at the "Indian Gardens" at Cross Village, where arrowheads, axes, etc., may still be found.

(Susy Shagonaby)

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL STUDIES AND RESEARCH GUIDES

Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. Stith Thompson. New and Enlarged Edition. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press; and Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955-1956.) Vol. I, A-C, 554 pp.; vol. II, D-E, 517 pp.; vol. III, F-H, 519 pp. \$13.50 per volume.

Students of folklore and allied disciplines will be pleased to know that the first three volumes of the enlarged edition of Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index* are now in print with the remaining three volumes to follow at regular intervals. Since its original publication between 1932 and 1936, the *Motif-Index* has proved to be an invaluable tool for folklore research, for it provides a guide through the massive and ever-increasing amount of recorded narrative folklore material. It has proved invaluable because it supplements the Aarne-Thompson *Type-Index*, its precursor and the only folktale guide at all comparable, in that the *Motif-Index* covers European folktale material not included in the *Type-Index* such as legends and fables, non-European folktales such as American Indian and African, and various other forms of narrative such as the English and Scottish Popular Ballads and the Medieval Romance. Many tale collections published in recent years have used motif numbers to identify and classify their contents, and motifs have been used to classify narrative material allied to but outside the realm of the folktale such as Spanish exempla and early Irish literature. The *Motif-Index* has probably been used most, however, as a general reference work for folklore material. Certainly, those who are familiar with it turn to it first when questions concerning the content of traditional narrative arise.

Despite the great scope of the original *Motif-Index*, the need for an expanded edition has long been felt. Important surveys such as Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* (1953) and Ikeda's "A Type-Index of Japanese Folktales" have made available the tales of entirely new areas. Moreover, new collections with extensive annotations have appeared since the original *Index* was published. It is impossible here to describe in any detail the exact extent to which the *Index* has been expanded or to list the many new publications which have been indexed, for the enlarged *Index* has about twice as many motifs as the original and has nearly doubled its scope. I will merely point out the new areas which the *Index* now covers and will list the new material which will be of importance for the study of the folktales of North America, hoping

in this way to give some indication of the nature of the general expansion. Some of the areas which were either untreated or were only slightly treated in the original *Index* but which are now covered with some fulness include Lithuanian tales, Icelandic material, modern Greek tales, early Irish literature, African tales, both native and imported, Cheremis tales, Turkish tales, Jewish Talmudic-Midrashic literature, Indic oral tales, Chinese and Japanese tales, Oceanic tales, South American Indian tales, Spanish exempla, and Italian prose novella. For the Anglo-American folktale tradition the additional sources which have supplied new motifs include Ernest W. Baughman's "A Comparative Study of the Folktales of England and North America," which is a survey of nearly a thousand folktale publications of various kinds; the folktale material in *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*; and Halpert's extensive collection, "Folktales and Legends from the New Jersey Pines." Other tale traditions in North America are represented by Flowers' "A Classification of the Folktales of the West Indies by Types and Motifs," which includes a large number of American Negro tales; Carrière's *Tales from the French Folklore of Missouri* and Sister Marie-Ursule's *Civilization Traditionnelle des Lavallois* for French-American tales and Rael's New Mexican material for Spanish-American. Important general works on Indian tales have also been indexed. The motifs added from these sources will greatly aid the student of American folktales who has long been hampered by the lack of an adequate, comprehensive survey.

It is a testimony to the foresight of Professor Thompson that although the enlarged *Index* contains nearly twice as many motifs as the original, the new motifs have been fitted into the *Index* with only minor changes in the framework and with only a few changes in the numbering of the old motifs. This retention of the old framework and numbers has been made possible by the method, familiar to all who have used the *Index*, of numbering motifs by employing decimal points for subdivisions.

In addition to the new motifs in the enlarged edition, new references have been appended to many of the old motifs. Thus, for example, under the motif D672. *Obstacle Flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path* are added two general works and specific references to the following traditions: Anglo-American, Irish, Icelandic, Jewish, Indic, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indonesian, Philippine, Marquesan, and North and South American Indian. Obviously, these new biblio-

graphic references will measurably increase the usefulness of the *Index*.

The publishers, Indiana University Press in this country and Rosenkilde and Bagger in Denmark, are to be thanked for the fact that the new edition will make a handsome set of volumes, being well printed on fine paper and attractively bound. Considering the size and nature of the work, there are remarkably few misprints. Folklorists the world over are deeply indebted to Professor Thompson for this major contribution to the scholarship of their field.

Indiana University
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Warren E. Roberts

Myth and Ritual in Christianity. Alan W. Watts. (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1954.) pp. 262.

Defining myth as "a complex of stories . . . human beings regard as demonstrations of the inner meaning of the universe and of human life," Professor Watts argues that the mystical element in Christianity (best revealed and preserved in the mythology and symbology of thirteenth century Catholic liturgy) has been virtually destroyed under the impact of ecclesiastical dogmatism and modern rationalism.

Beginning with Ananda Coomaraswamy's observation that the Oneness of the mystical experience (as distinct from religious experience based on conventional involvement with opposites and contrasts) is communicated "by the figurative statement of myth" which "springs from a submerged level of the mind which has never actually been 'taken in' by the illusion of the conventional world," Watts' book is essentially a provocative plea for the idea that in Christian mythology one may discover something of the transcendent mystical quality common to all great religious traditions.

The destruction of Christian mysticism over the centuries the author ascribes to the almost nefarious influence of theology and history. According to Watts, these two disciplines have reduced Christianity—"one of the most incomparably beautiful myths that has ever flowered from the mind of man"—to a series of dogmatic fantasies which are purveyed as inflexible truths. The theologians have wrecked Christianity, Watts suggests, by converting its sublime mythology into a dualistic religion of God and Satan, Salvation and Damnation, Life and Death. In so doing, the theologians have buried the mystical Oneness of the Christian experience in a welter of creed, dogma and special pleading. This, argues the author, has made Christianity narrow and provincial and has stimulated the religious

egocentricity of the individual Christian. More importantly, it has thwarted the only opportunity modern man has to achieve real peace of mind through the projection of Self into the Bosom of God.

Likewise, the church historians have contributed to the destruction of true Christianity by insisting that Christian myths (the Immaculate Conception, the Annunciation, the Assumption of the Virgin, etc.) be placed in historical context and accepted as actual events. This, thinks Watts, has fortified the narrow Christian claim to uniqueness and deprived the Christian story of its essential timelessness and universality.

To Professor Watts, the world of myth is the real world. Thus the unsophisticated, spontaneous mythology of Christianity represents the real essence of the religion in that it evidences man's search for Oneness with God in terms characteristic of all human religious experience. Attempts to rationalize and historicize the Christian story is a disservice to western man caught up as he already is in the iron vice of the Platonic dichotomy of mind and matter, beginning and end, success and failure, a dichotomy superimposed on Christianity by the theologians and revealed most frighteningly in the Heaven-Hell emphasis.

Using the Roman Catholic Church calendar as an organizational and structural basis, Professor Watts bends his considerable knowledge of Catholic liturgy and the symbolism and mythology of non-Christian religions to the general theme that explicit in the seasonal retelling of the Christian story lies buried and barely visible a record of man's mystical urge to God, a record either overlooked or distorted by Christian theologians. Just what the motive of the distorters was (and is) is not made entirely clear, and in only one brief notational reference to the Roman Catholic Treasury of Merit concept does the author suggest that the priesthood as a class might be somewhat too interested in power and control over the Christian masses.

Folklorists, comparative religionists and cultural anthropologists will find much that is interesting and little that is new in this book. At best, Professor Watts' main contribution to these disciplines lies in his skill in having synthesized in brief compass an excellent introduction to the origin and meaning of Christian liturgy, legend, myth and symbol. While his carefully researched presentation of the factual material occasionally gets lost in the semantic wilderness that characterizes his vigorous plea for the mystical religious outlook, seminarians and serious students of folklore and anthropology will find the book readable, stimulating and controversial.

Drawing primarily on Hinduism, Old Testament Judaism and New Testament Christianity, the author delineates and emphasizes common story types that reveal the universality of the religious impulse. Creation myths, fertility symbols, culture heroes, sacrificial rites, God-Devil and Sin-Punishment motifs are fully discussed. Folklorists will be particularly interested in the author's extensive treatment of the Tree of Knowledge motif. Here, the Wisdom theme of the Garden of Eden story is related to the Osiris myth, the Bo Tree of Gautama the Buddha, the Yggdrasil of Odin and The Cross of Christ crucified. While none of the material presented in this study is apt to disturb folklorists, the general reader might register some amazement to learn that the Immaculate Conception is a standard motif and that celebration of the Last Supper is not without primitive, cannibalistic overtones.

While one might agree with Professor Watts that the historical-theological conspiracy that dualized Christianity to its Heaven and Hell extremes had reduced the Christian God to little more than "a social and psychological necessity" and rendered orthodox explanations of Sin and Salvation virtually inconceivable to the rational mind, one might wish that the intellectual alternative to the continued acceptance of the Christian myth-made-history was somewhat more precise than a recommendation that Self be surrendered to the indeterminate will of a vague God. Still, the author's thesis is brilliant and it deserves careful consideration by all conscientious students of the folklore of comparative religion.

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Robert Seager

HEROES AND THEIR LEGENDS

Schoolcraft's Indian Legends. Edited by Mentor L. Williams. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956.) xxii + 322 pp. \$5.00.

When the history of American folklore studies is written, Schoolcraft will loom as a giant. Writing before the coinage of "folklore," he struggles for terms in describing the "oral tales, fictitious and historical," of the aborigines, but he knew precisely what materials he sought, and recognized their freshness. The links between American literature, anthropology and folklore are nowhere more firmly evidenced than in the work of the federal Indian agent of Sault Ste. Marie, the friend of Longfellow and precursor of Boas. For its recognition of a gifted and influential pioneer ethnologist, this edition merits acclaim.

Mentor Williams has brought together the traditional tales of the Ojibwa and other Algonkin tribes scattered through Schoolcraft's various publications of the early nineteenth century. He provides a polemic introduction, occasional brief notes on points of context in the tales, and valuable appendices quoting pertinent comments of Schoolcraft and Longfellow on the collecting of Indian tales and the writing of "Hiawatha." Mr. Williams regards his edition as the modest offering of a useful text for scholars and readers. Unfortunately an otherwise praiseworthy volume suffers from an inexcusable defect.

Primarily we wish to know the degree of accuracy and authenticity in Schoolcraft's renditions of Indian lodge stories. Although conscious of the need for close approximations of the narrators' words, he admitted taking some editorial license to give his narratives coherence. These unquestionably read with greater fluency and a more expansive vocabulary than the field texts of modern anthropologists. Still, as Williams points out, the Indian agent relied on educated Christian informants. And Schoolcraft himself pointed out the danger of "Anglo-Indian" tales when American writers began to refine the aboriginal narratives. So the tantalizing question recurs: how trustworthy is Schoolcraft? We now possess the aids to give us the answer, in the monumental *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* by Stith Thompson, liberally strewn with references to his own anthology, *Tales of the North American Indians*, with its extensive motif notes. In addition Stith Thompson has discussed the Indian tale at length in his study, *The Folktale*, and one of his graduate students, Mrs. Remedios Wycoco Moore, has constructed a type-index of North American Indian texts as a doctoral dissertation. And Professor Thompson's first work deals with the intrusion of European elements in Indian traditions. Williams writes as though these studies and apparatus never existed, much as if a modern textbook on biology should ignore the theory of evolution. The present edition should contain comparative notes for each tale comparing it with field texts and supplying motif numbers.

There are many points in the tales that invite comment. A single incident in the Obstacle Flight (Motif D672), in which an awl grows into thorn bushes, appears in the thoroughly Indianized story of "Mash-Kwa-She Kwong" (p. 270). A striking example of the Transformation Combat (Motif D615) similarly intrudes, in "Mudjee Monedo and Minno Monedo" (p. 202-3). Still, relatively few European narrative traits are recognizable. The tall tales of "Iagoo," which Longfellow adopted, belong to the exaggerative

humor of the frontier, including the wonderful hunt, Type 1890, and have no counterpart in Indian tribal storytelling. Likewise the strong man feats of Kwasind, resembling the deeds of Kullervo in the "Kalevala," smack of alien or literary tradition. But the representative character of other tales is undeniable, for instance the Manabozho cycle, and the shamanistic story of "Mishosha," both of which I collected from bilingual Ojibwa in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, in forms comparable to those recorded by Schoolcraft over a century earlier. (My informant used the title "Stink Lake" rather than the mellifluous "Mishosha.") Schoolcraft's chapter on "Manabozho" shows the perceptivity and insight he possessed into the Ojibwa trickster-hero, and as well his own literary powers. He employed the technique of commenting on and outlining the episodes simultaneously, so that he presents a shrewd character-analysis along with a faithful narrative summary. On other forms of Algonkin tradition, the historical legends, personal visions, and magical adventures, he seems less sure, and indulges in allegorical speculation.

Williams does not however ignore Stith Thompson. One portion of his introduction vehemently criticizes Thompson for placing the blame of the Manabozho-Hiawatha identification, and the sentimentalizing of Indian tales, on Schoolcraft. Williams holds that Longfellow first substituted the Iroquois for the Ojibwa figure, and that he and not Schoolcraft romanticized Indian myths. The evidence in the present edition undermines its own editor, for if Longfellow first publicly equated the two unlike tribal heroes, Schoolcraft never disputed him but quickly followed his lead; the poet can be pardoned, but not the ethnologist. Further, Schoolcraft introduced saccharine verses into his narratives, and on occasion indulged in romantic inventions (e.g. "The Vine and the Oak," p. 238). He himself admits, "I have weeded out many vulgarisms." Williams is right though in denying that Schoolcraft—or even Longfellow—should be blamed for the myriad tourist legends of Lovers' Leaps that dot the countryside. Blame these on the local poetesses of the decade Fred Lewis Pattee called "The Feminine Fifties."

Schoolcraft never could comprehend the meanings of some "incongruous, grotesque and fragmentary" traditions he heard, and on this score all collectors can sympathize. The plain fact is that most Indian tales are dull and stupid to the white man. To adapt them to an American white audience requires a shift both of medium, from the spoken to the printed word, and of cultural orientation. Schoolcraft's Indian tales never enjoyed anything like the popularity of Longfellow's poem. "The Song of Hiawatha" equipped the Noble

Savage with wild and romantic nature myths couched in dreamy poetic language, and even before its issue, travelers and female writers had begun to raid Schoolcraft's manuscripts for exotic legends. Yet Schoolcraft deplored their liberties. Judged by his own period he emerges remarkably well, collecting avidly, stressing the need for faithful texts, and endeavoring to understand Indian tales in the light of tribal culture. For his self-imposed standards he deserves our respect and appreciation.

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Richard M. Dorson

Gods of the North. Brian Branston. (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1956.) x + 318 pp.

This new book on the mythology of the pagan Scandinavians is based chiefly on the tales of the gods in the *Eddas*. In dealing with these Old Icelandic literary monuments as sources of mythology, the author supplies himself with a very loose, if not downright fuzzy definition of myth: "A myth then, is a combination of conscious and unconscious knowing, and that part of it which proceeds from the unconscious is likely to embody the nearest we mortals will ever get to absolute truth . . ." (p. 299; cf. p. 1: "A myth is like a dream; it is a direct expression of the unconscious mind . . ."). This point of view obviates the usual problems of trying to unravel from the *Eddas* the different kinds of tales: the stories specifically related to the cult, aetiological stories, *märchen*, and legends.

The author discusses various topics, such as the creation, cosmography, and the individual gods, by retelling the pertinent stories; then he gives a brief exegesis for each of these fragments. But the reader fails to get a clear concept of the development of the Northern mythology, or of its relation to other aspects of Northern culture. The contact of the Germanic tribes with the Celts, the spread of Hellenistic and Oriental ideas to the Germanic pagans, and the effect of the migrations of the Germanic peoples on their culture and myths—these aspects of the study of myth are treated merely by way of allusion. Much clarity is sacrificed by the failure to discuss such problems in greater detail and in chronological order.

In occasional references to folklore, Branston assumes a direct connection between Eddic motifs and popular traditions. For example, the notion that "the beneficent sheet lightning of summer flashed over the swollen ears of corn in order to ripen them," is taken to be a remembrance of the union of Thor, the god of thunder, and Sif, the goddess of fertility (p. 122). Branston points to the "reappear-

ance" of the legend of the wild hunt in the popular song *Riders in the Sky*, "in which the homeless dead are a ghostly 'devil's herd' of cattle . . . and Odin is represented as the ghostly cowboys" (p. 109). To Branston, Little Red Riding Hood is "a folklore version" of the story of Odin being swallowed by the Fenris-wolf (p. 285). To a folklorist, however, parallelism between motifs is only the beginning of the problem; thorough study alone can determine whether such material is identical, or borrowed, or independent.

Although *Gods of the North* is in some respects a disappointing book, many readers will be interested by the vivid retelling of the Eddic stories especially in Chapter VIII, "Tales of Odin and Thor," and in Chapter IX, "Tales of Other Gods and Goddesses." Perhaps some readers will be induced to further study of an ever fascinating subject.

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Barbara Allen Woods

Half Horse Half Alligator: The Growth of the Mike Fink Legend. Walter Blair and Franklin J. Meine. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.) 289 pp., bibliography, illustrations, \$5.00.

In 1933 the editors of this work published a running narrative of Mike Fink, based on their collected accounts of the boatman, titled *Mike Fink: King of the Mississippi Keelboatmen*. As their knowledge of and authority on frontier life and humor has grown, so have their source documents of Mike multiplied. Gleaned from gift books, newspaper accounts, almanacs, dime novels, these varied accounts are presented here in what may be the definitive book of Mike Fink sources. What Hoffman has done for Paul Bunyan and Price for Johnny Appleseed they have done for their subject.

Or perhaps I should say, they have provided the texts and explanations thereof sufficient for studies on a hero in history, legend and lore. For only forty pages of the book are given over to introductory matter, while the remaining 250 pages are occupied with the texts, and the last twenty-five of these pages contain the carried forward and other accounts of Fink's death. This plan of handling the death episodes (thirteen in all) is not explained but the purpose is obviously to bring into one place for convenient study the many variations of this last dramatic episode.

The six introductory chapters (written by Dr. Blair) take up the facts of Mike Fink's life, his keelboat days (he was certainly not the last man in the keelboat era), his adventures on western waters as trapper and hunter. After his death in 1823 the haze begins to gather and folktales begin to cluster about the name of this extraordinary riverman. Dr. Blair cites numerous references to circulating tales usually made by writers anxious to show that they are handling truthful material. During the 1840's and 1850's no fewer than forty-seven "original" stories and reprints of the man circulated in print. These most consistently used the shooting of the tin cup, boasting, mistreating his woman, and the circumstances of his death. Hints of Robin Hood traits had also appeared by this time. He was said to have treated his employed boatmen fairly, to have protected and fought for cargoes and passengers in his care, and even to have taken to his bosom a few rowdies who beat him in fair fights. Dr. Blair closes his brief introduction with the literary aspects of keelboat life as it affected and even influenced our writers, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Emerson, and others.

The editors have given folklorists a source book on a frontier hero and have opened the way for investigation into the complex interrelationship of a hero in fact, fiction, and folklore. (One audacious *faux pas* seems to occur in the first account. On page 49 Neville says Mike, "throwing his left leg back, levelled his rifle" to shoot. This looked like a misprint until I examined the frontispiece, taken from an 1838 Davy Crockett almanac, and found the awkward stance illustrated. How could a man hit a tin cup like that?)

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Leonard Roberts

David Crockett, the Man and the Legend. James A. Shackford; John B. Shackford, ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956.) xiv + 338 pp., illustrations and index. \$6.00.

The recent craze in small-boy haberdashery for Davey Crockett coon-skin caps is a reminder of the vitality (as well as the dollar value!) of the legend of a man who had become legendary in his own lifetime. It is not, however, to perpetuate the legend that this biography was written by Professor Shackford, who until his retirement in 1955 was Assistant Professor of English at North Carolina State College. Rather, his purpose is to rescue "the David Crockett God made," first, from the romantic-comic hero of folklore which contemporary students of American literature have perpetuated with

"unfortunate consequences"; second, from the cruel caricature originally limned by his enemies in both the Jackson and Whig press and now persisting for lack of a more sympathetic interpretation. Subsidiary to this main intent is his wish to restore the *Autobiography* of 1834, the authentic work of "real merit," to the position it deserves as a classic of American history and literature. Since 1933, he contends, anthologies have eliminated it in favor of the spurious tales attributed to Crockett.

Although this reviewer has several reservations about this biography, there are a number of points to be conceded in the author's defense. He has unearthed new sources—county records, state and national archives, unpublished holographs, "authentic reminiscences"—on the historical David which help to buttress the authenticity of the *Autobiography*. He has combined scholarship and ingenuity in establishing the probable authorship of the several works attributed to Crockett which have become part of the mythology. The author does not force his evidence; he is meticulous in pointing out discrepancies between the *Autobiography* and the facts established from other sources (e.g. Crockett's varnished account of his part in a mutiny against Jackson in the Creek War, pp. 26-27). There is no attempt to idolize or white-wash the historical figure. Nevertheless, Professor Shackford does not accept V. L. Parrington's portrait of an opinionated, egocentric, likeable, canebrake Smart Aleck.

Instead the author presents a tragic Crockett—a man of principle who fails because of one great flaw. The narrative is organized in a tragic pattern involving five movements. The first three cover David's political rise from justice of the peace to congressman. Success came because he possessed abundantly the traits admired on the frontier and because he was a determined champion of democratic ideals. The last two sections unfold the tragic decline of his career and its climax in death at the Alamo.

The principal flaw which made for tragedy was Crockett's hatred of Jackson which became a monomania. According to the author this was chiefly responsible for such evil consequences as the defeat in Congress of Crockett's bill to protect the squatters of Western Tennessee, his willingness to let himself be exploited by the shameless Eastern Whigs on the Tour of 1835, and, finally, was the proximate cause of his death in the Alamo.

While the case for David, the tragic hero, has some support in the bare facts, the thesis does violence to the temper of the man as the biography forthrightly presents him. Peevishness and obstinacy contributed to his ineffectiveness in getting his land bill passed by

the Congress. Egotism, loquacity, love of swagger made him the eager and willing dupe of the cynical Whig politicians. A craving for military glory is as probable an explanation for Crockett's joining the garrison at the Alamo as the alternative view that it was an act of defiant insubordination against the pro-Jackson leader, Sam Houston, who had ordered the demolition of the fort and retreat. Even the author partially concedes this, though he gives top emphasis to the latter.

Professor Shackford has endeavored to add new dimensions to the historical David. He does little with the "Davey" of legend except for an "Epilogue" in which he analyses several facets which explain why Crockett became and has remained a national legendary figure. While not original the analysis is perceptive. Whether one accepts all or only a part of this reinterpretation, one can admire the author's own spirit of adventure in quest of the truth. If, as he picturesquely remarks, "Truth is a many-colored dolphin," who can say what all the hues may be?

Most helpful to the scholar are the three appendices devoted to the discussion of authorship, extensive footnotes and index, a useful bibliography, and a map of the Crockett country on the end papers.

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Landon Warner

The Authentic Life of Billy, the Kid. Pat F. Garrett, introduction by J. C. Dykes. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.) \$2.00.

Billy, the Kid is the "No" to the great American "Yes."

Now that he is gone, scholars can quibble about how many men he *really* killed. The wise ones will never let this debate obscure the fact that Billy belongs to legend as well as history; that he lived a full life before he was old enough to vote; and that he died with his fangs bared and his guns ready.

The saga of William H. Bonney—for that is Billy's real name—is the most enduring desperado tale in our culture. We know this now, and the people who lived in New Mexico during Billy's lifetime knew it too. With these words did the editor of the *Santa Fe Weekly Democrat* close the account of Billy's death:

No sooner had the floor caught his descending form which had a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other, than there was a strong odor of brimstone in the air, and a dark figure with wings of a dragon, claws of a tiger,

eyes like balls of fire, and horns like a bison, hovered over the corpse for a moment, and with a fiendish laugh said, 'Ha ha! This is my meat!'

The man who ended Billy's mortal life on July 14, 1881 was Sheriff Pat Garrett. Yielding to what he called "repeated solicitations," Garrett published the next year his biography of William H. Bonney. What we have here is a new edition of that 1882 volume.

And lucky we are to have it; few books have as valid a claim for inclusion in the University of Oklahoma's "Western Frontier Library" series. Not only is the book important to the historian; it is equally important for the folklorist. Garrett's book has been more than a standard source for writers through the years, and one of the books of frontier life most frequently quoted. It has been a foundation-stone on which Billy's whole legend is built.

J. C. Dykes, who has written the introduction, understands this very well. A meticulous scholar, he does not allow himself to be buried in the mass of contradicting data. He understands, as did Garrett, that "the Kid" had a lurking devil in him—good-humored, cruel, or bloodthirsty as circumstances prompted. He sees in the story some of the stuff of enduring tragedy.

Mr. Dykes tries, with some success, to separate the verifiable, the probable, and the unlikely in Garrett's story. He also tells us about Garrett's own death. (He too was shot down.) In this way he sets the book which follows in perspective.

This is the third volume in the "Frontier" series, Dimsdale's *The Vigilantes of Montana* and Mercer's *The Banditti of the Plains* having preceded it. Like the other's, Garrett's volume is attractively printed and priced. We can be grateful to Garrett for writing it; to Dykes for explaining it; and to the University of Oklahoma for reprinting it.

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Marshall W. Fishwick

Saints of Sage and Saddle. Austin and Alta Fife. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956.) 367 pp., 16 photographs, \$6.00.

Saints of Sage and Saddle is an amazing book. It is an incredible book for "gentiles" to read. It is a skillful blending of Mormon history and legend, and it is difficult to decide at times whether the fact or the legend is more fantastic. It is also a very valuable book. The non-Mormon (the gentile, in Mormon usage) can, it seems to me, gain a greater understanding of Mormonism and an insight into its culture from the legends than from the history, although both are

indispensable. Most of us today are not concerned about supernatural manifestations. The Mormon way of life is unique in many of its aspects; many people are aware of some of its unique characteristics: the golden plates revealed to Joseph Smith, polygamy (of course), the temples, the closely-knit community life. What they are not aware of is the all-pervasive supernaturalism in Mormon life, the place of divine revelation, of angelic visitations, of visions, of miracles of all kinds (bodily healing—in both man and animal—as well as supernatural aid in almost ever conceivable kind of emergency), and of the ministrations of quasi-divine personages known as Nephites. These stories of divine intervention—told and retold in family and church groups for purposes of inspiration and edification, as example, as evidence of God's care of his anointed—have had incalculable effect in establishing and maintaining a faith and in welding Mormonism into a homogeneous religious, economic, and political institution. The Fifes also include a group of anti-Mormon legends in Chapter Six.

Saints of Sage and Saddle is an interesting book for the folklorist, a book primarily made up of oral accounts, though many of them are taken from printed documents. Oral accounts generally include two kinds of material: reminiscences of actual happenings and folktales. In a book of this kind, the folklorist can see the overlapping of these two forms of discourse and something of the process by which the reminiscence gradually becomes a tale. There are well known folktales in the book, especially in the accounts of the miracles and in the whole of Chapter Fifteen. Chapter Sixteen is devoted to accounts of lost mines and mineral sites. A most interesting section is that devoted to yarns about J. Golden Kimball, one of the most beloved Mormon preachers of this century who once remarked, "Seems like all the stories told these days are either about me or Mae West." The Epilogue is devoted to Mormon songs, and there are several songs in other chapters as well. The book also contains a chronology of Mormon lore and history, an extensive bibliography, and a useful index.

The book has several kinds of value: first, for its usefulness in affording an understanding of a people and a faith; second, for its usefulness in making more understandable the religious ferment of a fascinating period of American history; third, for its folklore content and the relationship of the folklore to the life and belief of the Mormons.

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RECORDS AND RECORD ALBUMS

Music of the American Indian: L34, Northwest (Puget Sound). Willard Rhodes (recorder and editor). Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Division of Music, Recording Laboratory, Archive of American Folksong, in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 1955 ?(date not given) 12" 33 1/3 r.p.m. record and 36-page pamphlet, 10 plates.

On Feb. 20, 1954, a group of anthropologists and other individuals with a long-standing interest and competence in Indian problems met in Chicago to discuss some of the assumptions of Indian Service personnel and of American Indians themselves which influence the relations between these two groups.

An assumption which seems to underlie the basic philosophy of much of the United States approach centers about the idea that assimilation of the American Indian into the normal stream of American life is inevitable, that Indian tribes and communities will disappear.

There was complete agreement on the part of the discussants that this prediction is unwarranted . . . the conference agreed that despite external pressures, and internal changes, most of the present identifiable Indian groups residing on reservations . . . will continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, personality, and Indian way of life, while making continual adjustments, often superficial in nature, to the economic and political demands of the larger society.¹

It is of interest to folklorists that Professor Rhodes supports this conclusion in the field of American Indian music:

Indian music is a living expression of a vital people, not a relic of the past of a dying race . . . When old beliefs and ceremonies cease to function in the life of a society, the songs associated with them tend to pass into oblivion. But they are replaced by new songs which give truer representation to current beliefs and practices . . . These changes are lamented by purists predisposed to regard Indian culture in static terms and to believe the old songs more beautiful than the new ones. Acculturation, that process of change resulting from the contact of one culture with another, is age old. (p. 15)

The present record, one of a series of ten giving an unusual coverage of American Indian music (L34 Northwest (Puget Sound), L53 Kiowa, L36 Indian Songs of Today, Sung by Indian Children or Youth, L37 Delaware, Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, L38 Great Basin: Paiute, Washo, Ute, Bannock, Shoshone, L39 Plains: Comanche, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Caddo, Wichita, Pawnee, L40 Sioux, L41 Navajo, L42 Apache, L43 Pueblo: Taos, San Ildefonso, Zuni, Hopi) is a shining example of what can happen on those rare oc-

¹ Province, John, and others, "Wenner-Gren Foundation Supper Conference," *American Anthropologist*, 56: 3 (June 1954), 388-89.

casions when a Government agency, an imaginative administrator (Dr. Willard W. Beatty) and a highly trained and sensitive scholar combine their efforts. Willard Rhodes' extensive background in anthropology, as well as music, provided the basis for a document giving us a vivid glimpse into the life of a little-known group of American Indians.

The songs are from the Swinomish, Lummi, Skokomish, Makah and Quinault Indians of the Puget Sound and Olympic Peninsular area. There are guardian spirit songs, a paddling song, love songs, a lullaby, several songs of the Shaker Church (a faith combining Indian and Christian elements, not related to the Shakers of the eastern United States), hymns in the "Chinook jargon," a trade language composed of Nootka, Chinook, English and French, and a folk-tale simply and effectively told with an accompanying song.

A number of valuable insights may be obtained from these recordings and the excellent pamphlet that is provided. For example, the syncretic quality of much of American Indian religion is illustrated in this Northwest coast instance. After more than one hundred years of active missionizing, many Indians still fail to see the necessity for the mutual exclusiveness of the many Christian sects to which they have been exposed. In the region covered by this album, young people are still intensely moved by the concept and experience of spirit possession. One can sense the powerful effect of the guardian spirit songs and a similar depth of feeling in the European-influenced Shaker Church music. And they are sung by the same persons.

Another valuable cultured insight is provided in the pamphlet by the discussion of ownership of songs, either by individuals or by families. The Northwest coast Indians had, and still have, a sense of property somewhat like an exaggeration of our own. The illustrations on the record and in the pamphlet of certain songs that are "owned" and can be sung only by or with the permission of these owners can do much to correct the rather wide-spread notion of a simple communism found in all non-literate cultures.

The songs with a rising pitch and the examples of heterophony are of considerable interest to the musical theorist. Though one may find discussions of the former in a good deal of the literature, this is the first record available to the public in which the singer clearly and intentionally raises his pitch until he ends his song with the tonic as much as a step and a half above its position in the opening phrases. The heterophony is usually a sort of organ point or drone held by some voices while others carry on the melody. Its rareness in Ameri-

can Indian music and the possibility that this is the beginning of a concept of harmony in a world-area of music which is almost entirely melodic, make these songs particularly noteworthy.

Professor Rhodes' notes place the songs squarely within their cultural matrix. With the aid of his full and careful description and the excellent photographs one has an unusual sense of understanding the real meaning of the songs. Texts are provided, with the original language and translations, so that one knows at any given moment what one is listening to. Thus the folklorist and linguist have the advantage of unique and useful material instead of the frustrating "exotic" experience provided by too many "ethnic" records with insufficient notes. Incidentally, the material contributes two poignant love poems to the scanty store of American Indian folk literature.

As might be expected, the musical analysis in the pamphlet is full and rewarding. There is admirable discussion of the formal structure of the songs, of American Indian vocal technique, scale structure, instruments, and the problem of how to listen to Indian music. Without Professor Rhodes' guidance, the naive listener might well be misled by the apparent simplicity, even "non-musical" quality of some of the songs. We may also be grateful for the short but well-chosen bibliography of published works on the Northwest coast region.

An important part of the pamphlet is the workmanlike and readable background on the culture of the Northwest coast Indians prepared by Erna Gunther, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Washington.

Lastly, so that it will surely not be missed, the music is attractive. The love songs have a surprisingly stately quality: slow, with a large booming drum. The lullaby is not a production but an improvised murmuring to a baby as it should be. The guardian spirit songs and the Shaker Church songs are remarkable for their emotional intensity. In one case at least, the singer was clearly under trance while singing. There is much of the same hypnotic effect in the Makah Bone Game songs. As one feels their dramatic beat and power, one realizes something of the uses to which music may be put beyond what we are used to in the Western European tradition.

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David P. McAllester

Spain: Flamenco Music of Andalusia. Notes by Gilbert Chase. (Ethnic Folkways Library P 437.)

Los Gitanillos de Cadiz, Songs and Dances of Andalusia. (Elektra EKL-103.)

Songs and Dances of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav National Folk Ballet (Tanec). (Folkways Record and Service Corp. FP 80/3. 12-inch Long-Playing records.

Aficianados of that hypnotic, wild and passionate Spanish music, the Andalusian *flamenco*, will delight in the choice collection of remarkably authentic recordings of these two albums. The uninitiated will find the "Introduction and Notes" by Gilbert Chase (*Spain: Flamenco Music of Andalusia*) a lucid, non-technical exposition and a felicitous induction into the music of this genre. Years of research in the music of Spain and Latin America qualify Mr. Chase to write on this subject with authority and his readable introduction, replete with pertinent information, recreates the historical and cultural setting for these songs and dances of Andalusia. It is a model that might well be copied by other annotators of folk and ethnic music.

Flamenco, Mr. Chase writes, "is a purely vocal-melodic style around which are clustered certain instrumental and choreographic forms." This is in direct contradiction to those writers who assert that *flamenco* developed from the characteristics of guitar technique. In supporting his statement, Mr. Chase enumerates the melodic traits which distinguish *flamenco* music as follows:

(1) a melodic range that seldom surpasses the interval of a sixth; (2) the reiterated use of one note, almost to the point of obsession, frequently accompanied by appoggiature from above and below; (3) the use of profuse ornamentation, but only at certain prescribed moments and as a means of intensifying the emotional expressivity of the song; (4) frequent use of portamento, i.e., 'sliding' from one note to another; and (5), most important of all, the use of enharmonic modulation.

Employing John Singer Sargent's painting "El Jaleo" as a visual aid in the understanding of the *cuadro flamenco*, the typical setting for flamenco music and dance, he reminds the listener that the support given the solo dancer by the singers, guitarists, and dancers is partly musical (chiefly rhythmic) but also emotional, and has a psychic reality that is almost physical in its impact. The counterpoint of the rhythmic striking of the palms, of stamping foot work, the castanets, the chords of the guitar, and the shouts of "Ole!" makes this a subtle and highly sophisticated folk art in which song and dance are fused into a free form that is capable of "moving the spirit."

There is no duplication of material on the two records. Together they cover most of the flamenco types, many of which take their names from cities and provinces of Andalusia, such as *sevillanas*, *malaguenas*, and those without place names, the *fandango*, *fandanguillo*, *soleá*, *penteneras*, *alegrías*, and *bulerías*. *Los Gitanillos de Cadiz* is accompanied with a booklet giving the Spanish texts and English translations. The poetry of these songs invites study and analysis. The quality of performance and sound recording of both records is excellent. Of special interest on the Folkways record are the *saeta*, a type of Andalusian religious song, sung by a twelve-year-old girl, the Andalusian folk song in which the singer describes an episode evidently connected with the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, and three guitar solos played by Sánchez Granada.

The Yugoslav National Folk Ballet (Tanec) which visited the United States last year as the first cultural importation from the new Yugoslavia, offers on this record a variety of music from its part of the world—shepherds' songs and dances, a bride's dance, a *kapacka*, a Macedonian dance dramatizing the hard field work of the peasant, an *aramiska* or epic dance, and love songs. This Macedonian group, Tanec, one of four regional groups which developed as part of the patriotic revival in the arts, presents in addition to its own music the songs and dances of Serbia and Croatia. Though modern instruments, violins, accordians, and brass are replacing the older folk instruments, the melodies seem to have retained their ethnic identity unchanged in a changing world. The hearty, exuberant spirit with which this music is played and sung is infectious and communicates itself to the listener through the record.

To the companies that have had the foresight, imagination and good taste to sponsor releases of such valuable authentic folk music a word of appreciation and thanks is due. They have provided the folklorist and student of folk music with an ever expanding library of source material.

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Willard Rhodes

Nova Scotia Folkmusic from Cape Breton, collected by Diane Hamilton. (Elektra EKL-23. 10" LP.) \$3.50.

This recording consists of a miscellaneous collection of songs, fiddle music, and bagpipe music, such as might be heard in any of many Cape Breton communities. However, apart from the aborigines, the group with its roots in the area for the longest time con-

sists of the minority French Acadian stock which possesses a rich store of folkmusic, none of which is found on this record. Moreover, it is commonly assumed that Cape Breton folkmusic has a distinctly Highland Scottish background, and what Miss Hamilton has recorded, for the most part, answers this description.

It is obviously difficult for a casual visitor to discover the items that are most typical and that really deserve to be preserved. There is no surprise then, that fault can be found with the selections. If one is disposed to classify as folkmusic anything that has been picked up by untrained musicians from other singers or players and not from books, everything on the record, except the piping of Sandy Boyd, can claim the appellation. The fact is that much of the material, words and music, is of comparatively recent origin, in print, the work of well-known poets and composers, and therefore in the view of some not genuine folkmusic.

It should not have been excessively difficult to have found some one who could check the names of the tunes, the accuracy of the translations, and the spelling of such Gaelic words as are used in the text, so that the collection would not have gone on the market marred by a number of errors. In fact, it would seem that a case can be made for refraining from giving such a collection to the public. To make up a really representative disc a reasonable time should be spent in the communities so that worth-while material could be discovered and the best folkmusicians located. It can easily be understood, however, that this was not feasible and Miss Hamilton must be given credit for having made up an interesting collection that many persons will enjoy. It may well be that the recording will stimulate some one who has more leisure and better connections to make up the really representative recording of Cape Breton folkmusic.

*St. Joseph's Rectory
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Rt. Rev. P. T. Nicholson

Ohio Valley Ballads, sung by Bruce Buckley with guitar; introduction and notes by Charles Edward Smith. (Folkways Records, 10" LP, FP 23-2.) \$4.25.

The Ohio valley is a big valley, as the notes to this collection make clear: "It drains a watershed of some 203,900 square miles The streams that feed the Ohio roll off the tongue like poems—

the Great Kanawha, the Beaver, the Licking and the Muskingum, the Scioto and the Big Sandy, the Wabash and the Green, the Kentucky, the Cumberland and the Tennessee."

The songs in this collection are chosen from all parts of this valley. Most of them are not widely known; several remain in the oral tradition within their localities of origin but have never spread beyond those localities. The only song which has appeared widely before on disc is "John Henry"—and the version which Bruce Buckley sings here is a distinctive one which he collected himself in Scioto County, Ohio (cf. Bruce Buckley, "'Uncle' Ira Cephas—a Negro folksinger in Ohio," *Midwest Folklore*, Spring, 1953.)

All eight of the songs concern violence: murder and a feud growing out of an election; the murder trial of two medical students who had beheaded a girl named Pearl Bryan; the shooting of judge, sheriff, prosecuting attorney, clerk, and jurors and the rescue from the courtroom of the prisoner at the bar; the shooting of an outlaw on the treacherous information of a spy; the murder of a girl by her lover, who threw her into the Big Sandy River with a piece of steel tied around her neck; the death in a train wreck of an engineer and fireman; the death of a workman in a contest with a steam drill; and the accidental shooting of a girl by her lover, followed by her appearance as a ghost at his trial.

The performance of the songs is exceptionally fine; Bruce Buckley gives each number a clear, perceptive, and appropriate interpretation. The infectious enthusiasm of "The Rarden Wreck of 1893" and the contrasting lyric delicacy of "Molly Bonder" show the range of his artistry. Both voice and guitar are superbly recorded; the magazine *High Fidelity* noted that the sonics are outstanding.

Charles Edward Smith's notes combine well with all the other superb features of this album; they are just about the finest album notes I have seen anywhere. They bring to the consideration of these songs of the people a broad cultural approach and a wealth of factual and pictorial background with a minimum of technical jargon; though Mr. Smith has described thousands of records in his other published works, he gives each of these songs fresh treatment as a separate, fragile, and memorable human document.

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John Ball

Anglo-American Ballads from the Archive of American Folk-song, ed. Alan Lomax. (Library of Congress, AAFS L1, 12" LP.) \$4.50.

Negro Religious Songs and Services from the Archive of American Folk Song, ed. B. A. Botkin. (Library of Congress AAFS L10, 12" LP.) \$4.50.

Music from the South: Vol. 5. Song, Play and Dance, recorded by Frederic Ramsey, Jr. (Folkways FP 654, 12" LP.)

Josh at Midnight, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein. (Elektra EKL-102, 12" LP.)

Goin' Down the Road . . . American Folksongs Sung by Clarence Cooper. (Elektra EKL-12, 10" LP.)

Folklore of the United States: Jack Tales, told by Mrs. Maud Long, ed. Duncan Emrich. (Library of Congress AAFS L47, 12" LP.) \$4.50.

These half-dozen discs illustrate four trends in current folk recordings. First is the reissuing on inexpensive 33-1/3 rpm LP sides of the authentic pioneer field performances first brought out fifteen years ago on shellac 78's by the Folklore Section of the Library of Congress. Second is the fruitful collecting now being done in the field—in the case of Frederic Ramsey's *Music from the South* series and of the Library of Congress *Jack Tales* record, with the financial assistance of educational foundations. (Ramsey recorded his fine series on a Guggenheim grant, while the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation enabled the Library to produce the folktale record.) The third trend is the ever-increasing number of records issued by commercial companies which present folksongs but not necessarily folk singers; we may place Josh White and Clarence Cooper in this category for the moment, and clarify the category later. Finally, the *Jack Tales* record is indicative of what I hope to be a trend: the issuance of folk narratives as well as songs.

All of us who have known and used the old series of Library of Congress recordings will rejoice that they are now more conveniently available. These performances are so familiar that it is needless to review them here. Suffice it to say that *Anglo-American Ballads* includes the entire contents of both the old LC-1 album and the *Friends of Music* album ("Lady of Carlisle," "Pretty Polly," "It Makes a Long Time Man Feel Bad," and "O Lord Don't 'Low Me to Beat 'Em"). *Negro Religious Songs and Services* gives us some

of the best Negro folk song ever recorded, particularly the renditions of "Holy Baby" by prisoners on an Arkansas State prison farm, the fine jazz-influenced spiritual, "Ain't No Grave Can Hold My Body Down," and the incomparable Easter Day sermon, "The Man of Calvary," by the Rev. Sin-Killer Griffin with congregational responses and singing. This last selection is surely one of the classics of Afro-American folklore.

Frederic Ramsey spent his Guggenheim grant in a way from which all students of Negro folk music can take pleasure and instruction. *Song, Play and Dance* follows four earlier recordings of backwoods brass bands, folksongs, spirituals, sermons, and anecdotal reminiscences. The present record indicates the diversity of musical expression still current in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi in 1954: string bands, harmonica breakdowns, buck dances, blues, children's game-songs, and jazz lyrics that have worked back up the bayous from New Orleans. The quality of these recordings is extremely good; the tapes have been edited so as to let us catch a little of the easy talk and joking before the numbers begin. Ramsey's notes are unusually informative, for he consistently places the music in the context of folk life from which it comes. Several pages of photographs of the countryside and the musicians help to put the listener in rapport with these valuable materials.

Twenty-five years ago, when he made his first records, Josh White may have sounded like some of Ramsey's singers, but he has come a long way. In *Josh at Midnight* he teams with the singer Sam Gary and the bass-player Al Hall, who backs up Josh's powerful guitar with a resonant rhythm that makes the trio sound like a whole jazzband. As is well known, Josh began as a boy "singing reverend," took to the road with Blind Lemon Jefferson, learned from him the tradition of folk minstrelsy, and then went on to develop that rough tradition into a smoothly stylized and syncopated manner of delivery which has long made him a favorite of nightclub audiences. Josh is a masterly performer, and the folk origins of his style are still evident behind the gloss. These numbers (old favorites from his repertoire) have folk lineage but it is not as song from a folk informant that we enjoy them. Josh White's style by now is folksong highly urbanized and much influenced by jazz, with traces of gospel singing and—perhaps—of Segovia's guitar playing.

Just as Josh learned his trade from Blind Lemon, so Josh now has his own epigoni. One of these is Clarence Cooper, a Hampton Institute graduate in music who appeared in the movie, *The Quiet One*, as a counselor at Wiltwyck School for emotionally disturbed

children (which indeed he was). I mention Mr. Cooper's background in order to suggest that he may have gone into "folk singing" in connection with his work at a teacher. He has a pleasant trained voice, and to hear him sing in person must undoubtedly be an enjoyable experience. It is enjoyable to hear this record too, but since his folk style is based on Josh White's and his version of "Waterboy" on lord knows whose, there is not much that the folksong student can learn about the development of the genre from this performance.

The Library of Congress record of the *Jack Tales* by Mrs. Maud Long of Hot Springs, N.C., should prove useful for classroom demonstration of the style of folk narration prevalent in the Appalachian region. Mrs. Long prefaces the first of her stories with a set piece in which she describes how the tales were passed along in her family. She then tells "Jack and the Drill," "Jack and the Sop Dog," and "Jack and the Bull." These are extended and complex combinations of motifs some of which have recently been published in more fragmentary versions collected by Vance Randolph and Leonard W. Roberts. Only Richard Chase's *The Jack Tales* rival Mrs. Long's in length and consistency of style. As Mrs. Long's mother was Mrs. Jane Gentry, Cecil Sharp's folksong informant, we may take it for granted that, under the special circumstances at least of a mother and daughter of prodigious memory and verbal skill, the American folktale tradition can produce fine versions of these ancient materials. One's only reservation about this recording is the lack of notes; surely, the grant from the Carnegie Corporation could have been stretched to allow for indications of tale types and motif numbers, and for a fuller description of both the extant literature on the Jack Tales and of the communities in the Appalachians where this fine tradition is being continued into the present generation.

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